ARTISANS, SUFIS AND COLONIAL ART INSTITUTIONS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY PUNJAB

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis is my original work and it has been written by me in its entirety. I have duly acknowledged all the sources of information which have been used in the thesis.

This thesis has also not been submitted for any degree in any university previously.

Hussain Ahmad Khan
05 December 2012

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SUMMARY

This dissertation argues that unlike the pre-existing Sufi institutions (*khanqah, mela* and shrines), colonial art institutions (art school, exhibitions and museum) in nineteenth-century Punjab were unable to engage the local artisans, and therefore to shape the local cultural domain.

The first chapter proposes that the Sufi-artisan relationship was historically grounded. To explain this, I examine opacities in Punjabi folktales, which if studied in relation to the social and economic conditions of pre-colonial Punjab (1300-1800), provide clues about the relationship. Punjabi artisans were marginal in social and economic terms, and Sufis gave them protection, shelter and food. The belief in the blessing powers of Sufis, economic opportunities associated with shrines, and the Sufis' relationship with medieval kings and elites contributed towards developing this relationship.

By focussing on shrine architecture, the second chapter highlights the Sufi-artisan relationship in nineteenth-century Punjab, in the context of political instability, revolts, the decline of the Mughals, the struggle of the Sufis to establish an Islamic state or protect the political rule of the Muslim rulers. The construction of shrines shows that the Sufi beliefs, aiming to define a "Muslim identity", were symbolized in the buildings. Many segments among the Muslim population began to identify shrine, palace and mosque architecture with Muslim rule and Islam.

The third chapter examines the establishment of the Mayo School of Art in Lahore, by the colonial state to bring the local artisans into the global economy; to revive the local crafts; to counter the influences of European imports; and to introduce Utilitarian ideas. Such ideas were contrary to the Sufis'. The colonial officials also promoted eclectic architecture to represent the "British Indian empire" and to revive pre-colonial architectural traditions. Because of the administrative limitations and unanticipated responses of the artisan students, the colonial state could not achieve the stated objectives of art school and architecture.

The fourth chapter explicates the administrative limitations and discordant voices in the institutions of colonial exhibitions and the Lahore museum in the second half of the nineteenth century. The objectives of these institutions were similar to colonial art education; however, they could not be realized. Most of the Punjabi artisans either avoided participation in the exhibitions or submitted unwanted artefacts. Visitors to the Lahore museum considered it a source of entertainment, which was not intended as such by the colonial state. Throughout the nineteenth century, colonial art institutions struggled to influence the local culture in Punjab.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

For the terms and names in Urdu, Punjabi and Siraiki, I follow the *Oxford University Press Style Guide* and popular usage of spellings in contemporary English publications. For easier reading, I omit diacritics.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
CIE	Calcutta International Exhibition (1883-84)
DPI	Director, Public Instruction (Punjab)
DSA	Department of Science and Art
EIC	East India Company
FPE	First Punjab Exhibition (1864)
MSA	Mayo School of Arts (Lahore)
NCAA	National College of Arts Archives (Lahore)
PWD	Public Works Department
SKSS	South Kensington School System
SPE	Second Punjab Exhibition (1881-82)

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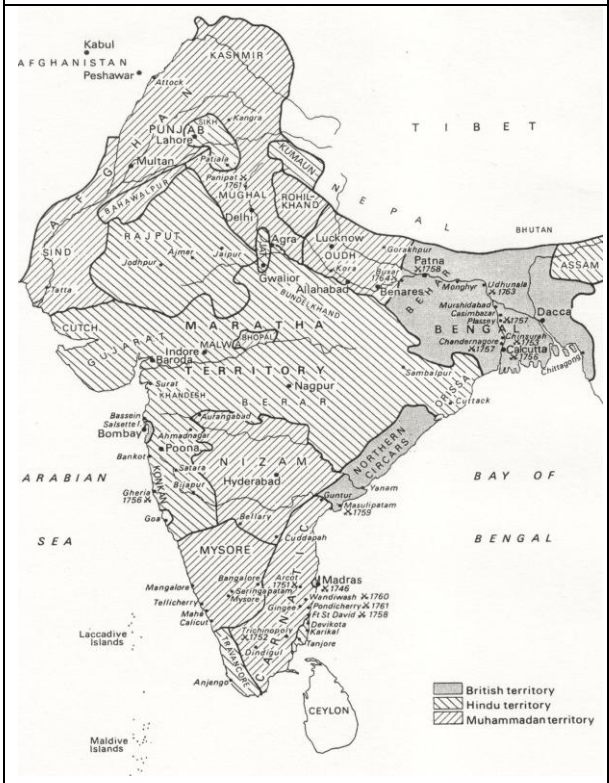	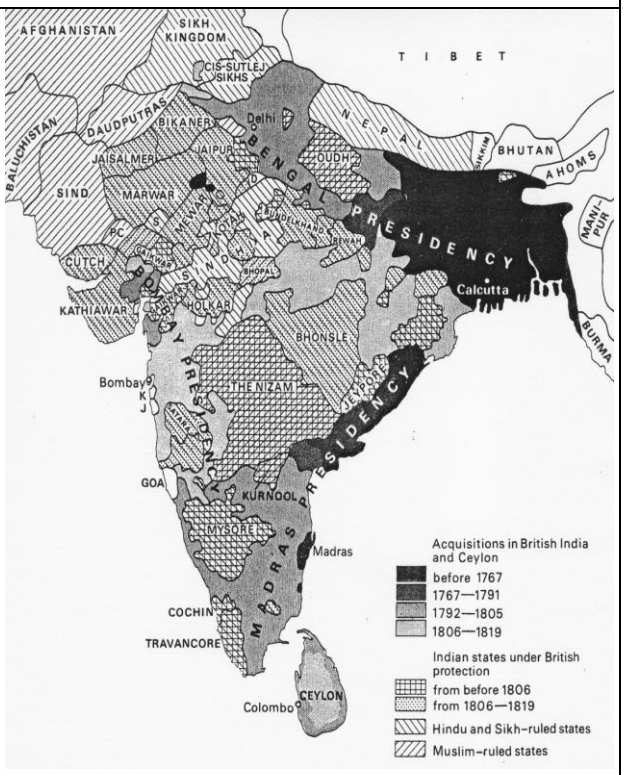
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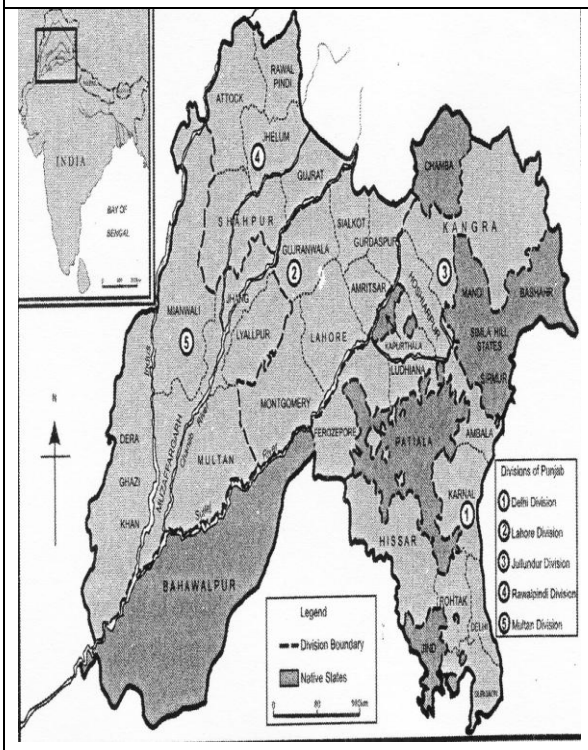	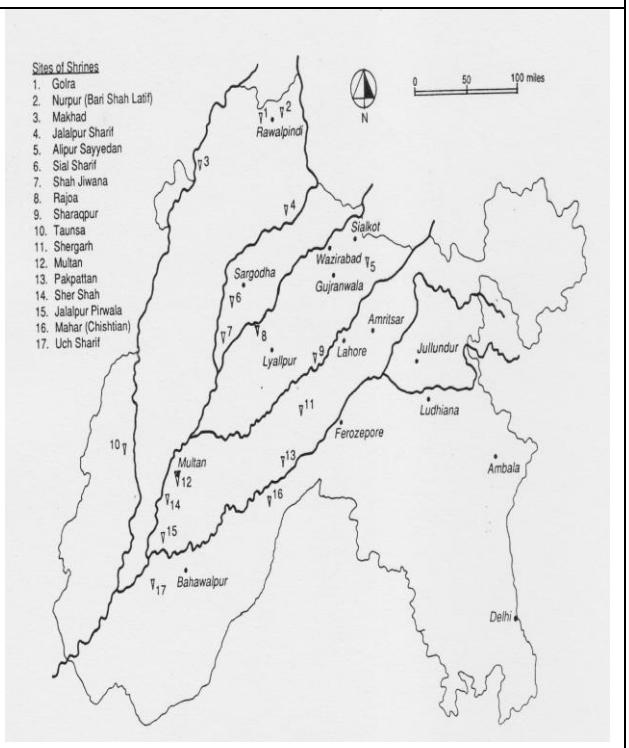
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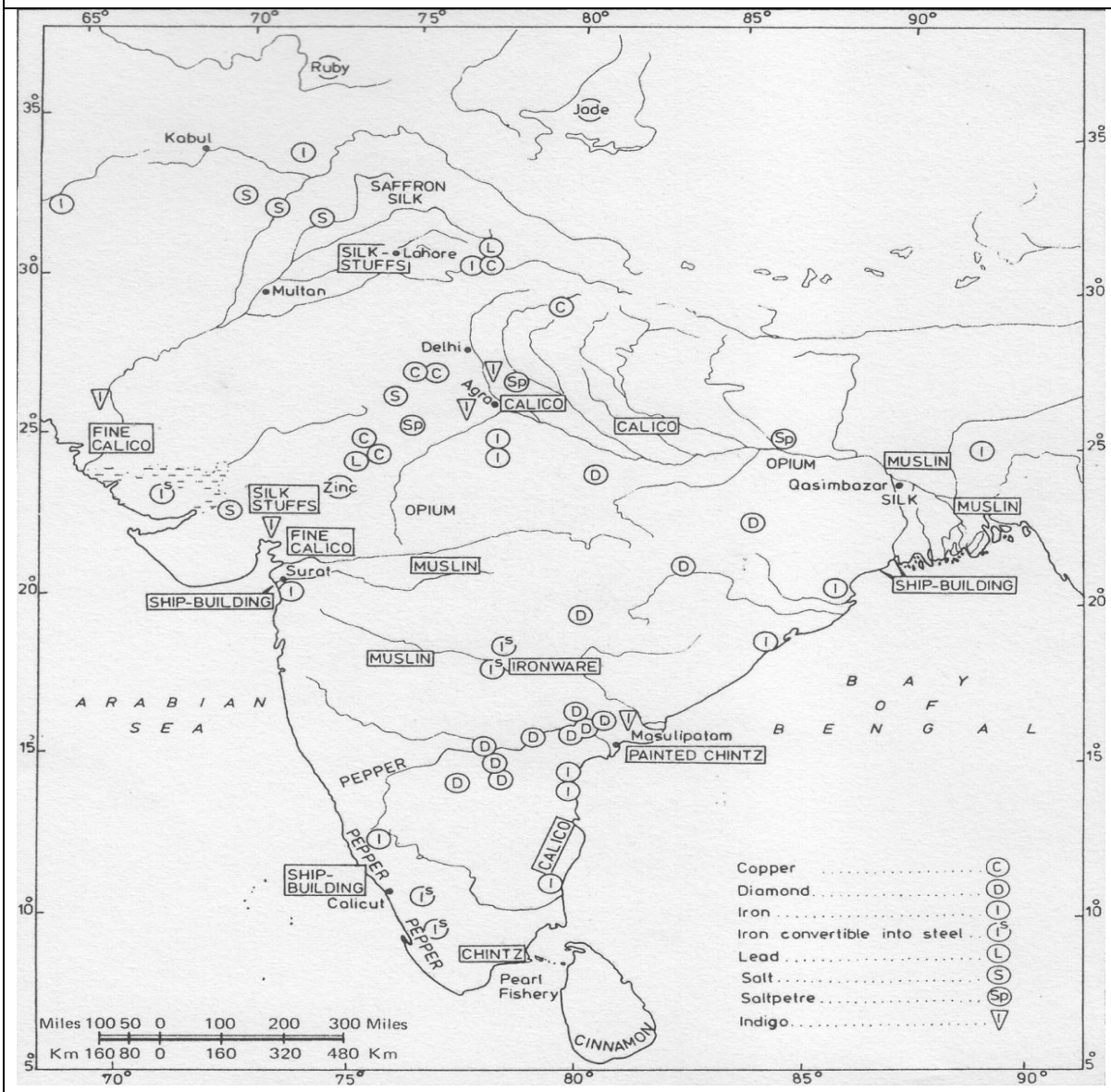

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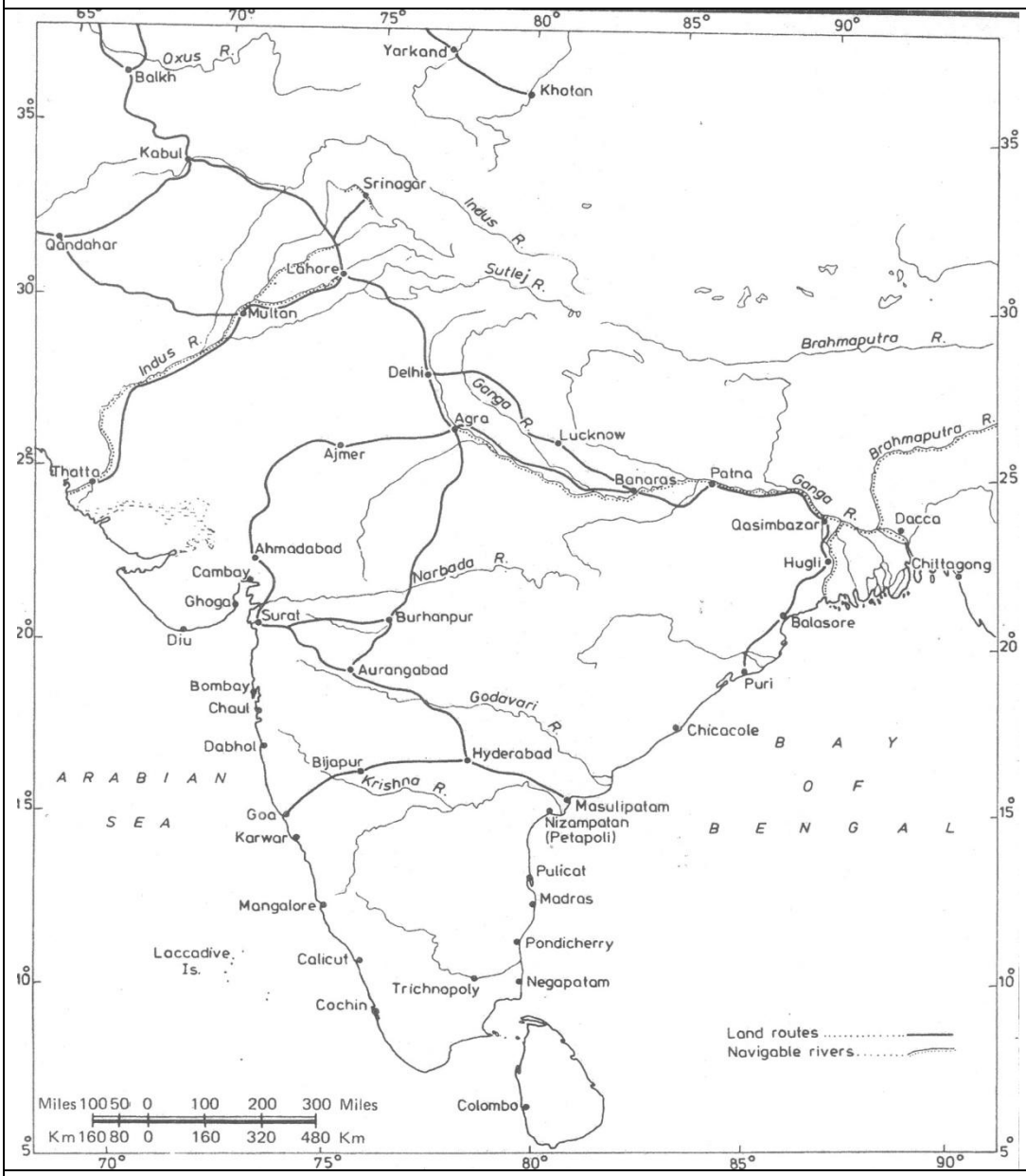

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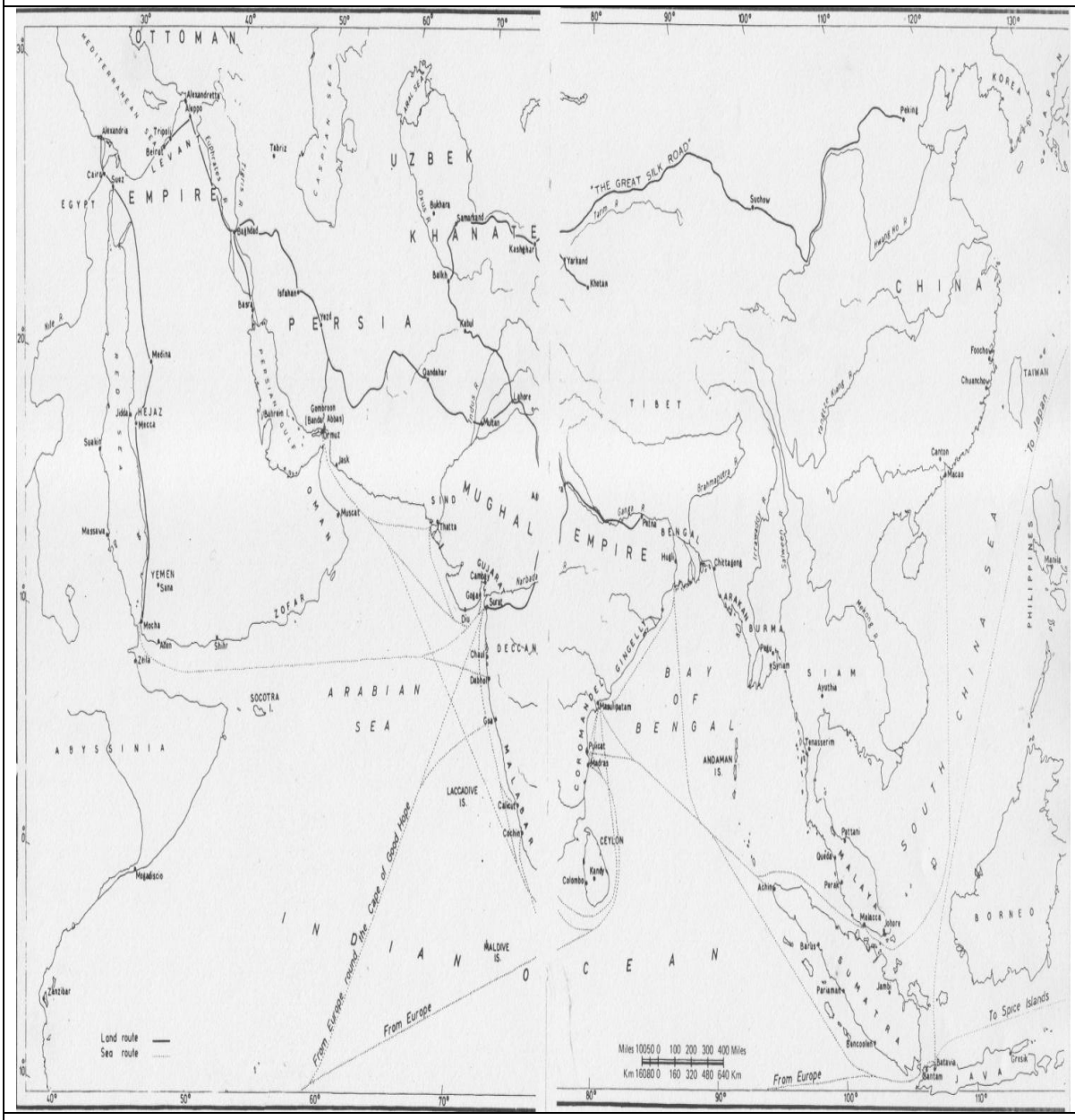

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation shows, through the study of folktales, Sufi shrines, colonial architecture, exhibitions and museums, that political control does not necessarily entail control over culture. In nineteenth-century Punjab, the Sufis and the British espoused different ideologies. I employ three characteristics of Daniel Bell's definition of *total* ideology to explain the ideologies in colonial Punjab. Bell defines total ideology as "a programme or plan of action; based on an explicit, systematic model or theory of how the society works; aimed at radical transformation or reconstruction of the society as a whole".[1] The Sufis' ideology was centered on the establishment of an Islamic state and the revival of Islamic culture. The colonial officials' ideology was to realize a liberal empire based on the Positivist knowledge.[2] Both Sufis and colonial officials viewed local artisanal practices as a means to propagate their respective ideologies. Due to their historically developed relationship with Punjabi artisans, the Sufis were effectively able to engage the former in disseminating mystic ideas and promote a sense of "Muslim identity" through shrine architecture and *mela* (festivals).[3] On

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[1]Raymong Geuss, "Ideology" in Terry Eagleton (ed.), *Ideology* (London: Longman, 1994), p. 266.

[2]Positivist knowledge denotes various philosophical systems (such as Positivism and Utilitarianism) which suggest that "theology and metaphysics are earlier imperfect modes of knowledge and that positive knowledge is based on natural phenomena and their properties and relations as verified by the empirical sciences". *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/positivism (accessed on 29 November 2012); *Oxford English Dictionary, http://www.oed.com.libproxy1.nus.edu.sg/view/Entry/148321?redirectedFrom=Positivism#eid* (accessed on 29 November 2012). For different meanings of liberalism in colonial India, see C.A. Bayly, *Recovering Liberties: Indian Thought in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). For the influence of liberal and Utilitarianism on the policies of colonial state, see Rachel Sturman, *The Government of Social Life in Colonial India: Liberalism, Religious Law, and Women's Rights* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[3]The roots of Sufism in Punjab can be traced back to the eleventh century. By the mid-eleventh century, two Sufis, Sheikh Husain Zinjani and Sayyid Ali bin Uthman al-Hajweri, who were the followers of Junaid of Bhagdad (d.910), came from Gazni (Afghanistan) and settled in Lahore. They popularised the Junadiyya Sufi tradition and the concept of *dargah* (shrine) in the region. However, Sheikh Safiuddin Gazrun, who came from Iran and settled in Ucch (Punjab) in the twelfth century, introduced the first Sufi *silsila* (brotherhood), the *Gazrun silsila*, which enjoyed limited following. In the latter half of the twelfth century, Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya established the Suharwardi *silsila*

the contrary, colonial art institutions (such as art schools, exhibitions and museums) struggled to attract the local artisans, and this failure significantly altered the objectives of British administrators to localize new approaches to art and architecture based on ideas largely borrowed from England.

In the nineteenth century, several Sufis regarded themselves as *imam* (leaders of Muslims) who could succeed the Mughals. They fought against the Sikhs and the British to establish an Islamic state in northern India or supported the local Muslim rulers. The Sufis also resisted colonial trade, criticized the activities of Christian missionaries, opposed Positivist knowledge, and stressed the importance of the *Quran*, prophetic traditions (*hadith*), and Arabic and Persian Sufi texts. Those Sufis who did not participate in political alliances and militant activities, promoted the revival of Islamic practices in all aspects of life. In nineteenth-century Punjab, most of the Sufis belonged to the Chishtiyya *silsila* (order). The main focus in this dissertation will be on Chishti Sufis but I will also highlight the role of other Sufi *silsila*.

The British too presented themselves as alternate leaders to the Mughals. Sometimes, they supported the Christian missionaries, but in most cases they advocated Utilitarian ideas, and sought to establish a "liberal" empire in India. They strived to integrate the local artisans in the global economy to pursue the economic interests of the empire, and laid emphasis on the

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which profoundly influenced the locals especially in Multan. Meanwhile, Chishti centres emerged under Fariduddin Ganjshaker (1173/1188-1266/1280) in Pakpatten and then spread throughout Punjab from the twelfth century onwards. If the Suharwardi order associated itself with elite classes, the Chishti order was popular among lower classes such as artisans and peasants. In upper parts of Punjab, such as Lahore and Gujrat, Qadriyya order also exerted its influence. While in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Chishti Sufis overshadowed other Sufi *silsila*. For a brief discussion on early Sufis in Punjab, see Iqtidar Hussain Siddiqui, "Advent of Sufism in Medieval Punjab: A Narrative of its Historical Role", in Surinder Singh and Ishwar Diyal Gaur (eds.), *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines* (Delhi: AAKAR Books, 2009), pp. 49-62. For the construction of religious identities, see Anil Sethi, "The Creation of Religious Identities in the Punjab, c. 1850-1920" (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, unpublished PhD dissertation, 1988).

learning of western knowledge, especially science, as a way to remove the superstitions that were rooted in the local religions and traditions. Like several Sufis, the colonial administrators also adopted various strategies, sometimes contradictory, to "reform" the local culture. For both Sufis and British officials the objective of reforming Punjab's culture through artisanal practices was an important way of disseminating their respective ideologies.

Despite having different ideologies, the Sufis and the British also collaborated with each other to pursue their respective interests: a few Sufis, such as Mukhdoom Shah Muhmud in Multan, along with their followers helped the British against the Sikhs in 1849; several staunch followers of Sufism, such as Nur Ahmad Chishti in Lahore, tutored colonial officers and praised the colonial state for returning the possession of shrines to their custodians; and early in the twentieth century, the colonial state allotted lands to many *sajjada nashin* (custodian of shrines) in return for political support.[4] Yet the collaboration of Sufi communities with the British should not be taken in a literal sense because neither did the colonial officials understand or agree with Sufi ideas (despite appreciating Sufis for their tolerance) nor did the Sufis endorse Positivist knowledge.

The Sufis, who preferred "seclusion", focussed on the cultural revivalism of Islamic practices and engaged Punjabi artisans to re-enforce their mysticism. This activity involved inscribing crafts with mystical verses or portraits of Sufis, and erecting religious buildings, especially shrines. In Punjab, most of the Chishti Sufis were not practising craftsmen, so they sought to associate mystic meanings to the existing craft practices. These mystical meanings were highly political, because these were related to popular slogans in the *jihadi* movements against the Sikhs and the British, and were frequently articulated among the locals to present

[4]For the relationship of Sufis with the colonial state in twentieth-century Punjab, see David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1988).

a distinguished Islamic identity.[5] Renowned Sufis in the nineteenth century did not alter their traditional knowledge to accommodate colonial knowledge. In fact, they continued to vouch for the Arabic and Persian cultural traditions in order to assert their distinctive identity. I will discuss whether this Arabicization and Persianization of Sufism was in anyway referred to shrine architecture with reference to nineteenth-century Punjab.

Several scholars, who have written on the partition of India in 1947, suggest that the religious slogans in the All-India Muslim League's struggle were popularized by the shrine-based communities in Punjab and Sind.[6] These devotional communities pleaded the case for a separate state, where they could practice their religion. They used Sufi shrines as their main hub of activities to convince the people to support the cause of "Islam". Prominent Sufis collaborated with Muslim professional groups (teachers, lawyers, bureaucrats), feudal lords, *nawabs* and others in the politics of the 1930s and the 1940s. The mystical powers of the Sufis and the idea of an Islamic state became part of the electoral campaigns during this period.[7]

This dissertation examines how nineteenth-century shrine-based Punjabi communities used architecture and the Sufi *mela* to assert a "Muslim identity". The focus on shrines is

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[5]Following C.A. Bayly, Francis Robinson and Ayesha Jalal, I am using, "Muslim" and "Islamic" interchangeably in the dissertation. They argue that in nineteenth-century India, Muslims had no such a concept as "secularism" and based their worldview on faith. C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 27; Francis Robinson, *Islam and Muslim History in South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010); Ayesha Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam Since 1850* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 1-44.

[6]Robinson, *Islam and Muslim History in South Asia;* David Gilmartin, "Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab", *Modern Asian Studies,* Vol. 13(3), (1979), pp. 485-517; Sara Ansari, *Sufi Saints and State Power: The Pirs of Sind, 1843-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Mushirul Hasan, *Legacy of a Divided Nation: India's Muslims Since Independence* (London: C. Hurst, 1997), pp. 53-99.

[7]David Gilmartin, "Muslim League Appeals to the Voters of Punjab for Support of Pakistan", in Barbara Daly Metcalf (ed.), *Islam in South Asia in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 409-23.

explained by the fact that members of Sufi communities took part in anti-Sikh and anti-colonial *jihadi* activities, and in retaliation the Sikh and the British plundered and destroyed many shrines. In the post-1857 context, the destruction of shrines and the loss of Mughal's political authority became synonymous. I propose that, unlike the Sufi-artisan relationship, the colonial officials' attempts to engage Punjabi artisans through architectural projects and art institutions were ineffective, despite their claims over scientific and historical knowledge. British political domination did not ensure control over the local cultural traditions. This is not to suggest that the locals remained detached from colonial knowledge; in many cases, the locals used colonial knowledge to resist the imperial authority. The tools of control (knowledge, institutions and buildings) in turn became the tools for resistance.

In this study, I consider the geographical boundaries of Punjab as they were defined in the second half of the nineteenth century. The boundaries of the region were different in the medieval period. "Punjab" is a Persian word meaning five rivers but it was wrongly associated with "the land of five rivers" in the colonial documents. In fact, the Lahore province was renamed as Punjab when five *doabs* (interfluves) were added to it during the rule of Mughal emperor, Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar (r.1556-1605). By then, there were six rivers in Punjab. In the medieval period, Lahore and Multan formed different provinces but were joined together in Ranjit Singh's kingdom during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Sikh Mahraja later included Kashmir and Kabul in Punjab and adopted the title of the "master of Punjab, Kashmir, Mankera and Multan, Attock and Peshawar". This title shows

how nineteenth-century rulers in Punjab viewed their territories in different geographical units (see maps 1 and 2).[8]

The British occupied Punjab in 1849. In 1858, soon after the mutiny (1857), Delhi and Hissar were included in the province. It comprised ten divisions, each administered by a British commissioner.[9] In 1884, the divisions were reduced to six: Delhi, Jullunder, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Derajat and Peshawar.[10] In 1904, the North-West Frontier Province was carved out by separating the Peshawar division from Punjab. This dissertation's main geographical focus is on western Punjab along with the Delhi division (see map 3). The main cities include Delhi, Lahore and Multan. I will also deal with the state of Bahawalpur (which is now in the Pakistani part of Punjab) because it shared the tradition of Sufism with the adjourning Multan and Derajat areas of Punjab. Punjabi Sufis not only enjoyed great reverence among the

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[8]Before the eleventh century, the Greeks, Shakas, Kushanas and Huns came, and afterwards, the Arabs, Turks, Afghans and Persians intermingled with the local tribes (such as Jats, Rajputs). J.S. Grewal, "Historical Geography of the Punjab", *Journal of Punjab Studies*, Vol. 11(1), (Spring 2004), pp. 1-18.

[9]These ten divisions were Delhi, Hissar, Umballa, Jullunder, Amritsar, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Multan, Derajat and Peshawar. Major cities in Delhi division were Delhi, Gurgaon and Karnal. In Lahore division, cities were Lahore, Gujranwala, Ferozepur. Major cities in Hissar division were Hissar, Rohtak and Sirsa. Cities in Rawalpindi division were Rawalpindi, Jehlum, Gujrat, and Shahpur. Cities in Umballa division were Umballa, Ludhiana and Simla. Cities in Multan division were Multan, Jhang, Montgomery and Muzuffargarh. Cities in Jullunder division were Jullunder, Hoshiarpur and Kangra. Cities in Derajat division were Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan and Bannu. Cities in Amritsar division were Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Sialkot. Cities in Peshawar division were Peshawar, Hazara and Kohat.

[10]In 1884, Delhi division comprised Delhi, Gurgaon, Karnal, Rohtak, Hissar, Umballa, and Simla. Jullunder division consisted of Jullunder, Hoshiarpur, Kangra, Ferozepur, Ludhiana. Cities in Lahore division were Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Jhang, Montgomery, and Multan. Cities in Derajat division were Muzuffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu. Cities in Rawalpindi division were Rawalpindi, Jehlum, Gujrat, Shahpur, Gujranwala, Sialkot. Cities in Peshawar division were Peshawar, Hazara, Kohat.

peoples of Bahawalpur, but also Punjabi artisans frequently visited the state and undertook major construction projects patronized by the Nawabs of Bahawalpur.[11]

The term "Sufi" generally refers to a Muslim mystic and Sufism is normally associated with Islamic mysticism.[12] Sufism is a literal translation of the Arabic word *tasawwuf*, which means an "act or progress of becoming a Sufi".[13] In the Indian context, the Sufi experience is neither exactly the same as in normative Islam nor in the popular practices of the religion. In fact, it assimilates the components of both forms of religion (normative and popular).[14] It is because of this reason that scholars sometimes distinguish *ulema* from Sufis, the former closer to normative Islam and the latter to mysticism.[15] In the dissertation, I follow this distinction, although I acknowledge that both categories overlap in complex ways.[16]

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[11]For Sufi tradition in the Bahawalpur region and its influence on other parts, see Travelogue of a Sufi who visited Ucch in the 1930s, Sayyid Shareef Ahmad Noshahi, *Safarnaama-e-Ucch* (Bahawalpur: Urdu academy,1999); Masood Hassan Shahab, *khita-e-pak Ucch* (Bahawalpur: Urdu academy, 2009); Syed Zahid Ali Wasti, *Bahawalpur ki surzameen* (Multan: Beacon Books, 2009); Syed Zahid Ali Wasti, *tarikh-e-surzameen-e-Multan* (Multan: Beacon Books, 2009).

[12]The term Sufi is derived from *Suf*, which means "rug". Hajweri indicates various explanations about the origin of word "Sufi" in *khashful majub*, one of the earliest treatise on Sufism in Persian. For him, many people argue that it is derived from first *saff* (row), indicating the people of highest category, some affirm it came from *Ashab-e-Safa* (people of the veranda) who were the poor companions of prophet Muhammad, some others trace its origin from *safa* (purity). Hajweri supports the last interpretation. Ali Hajweri, *khashful majub*, trans. Fazaluddin Gohar (Lahore: Zia-ul-Quran Publications, 2010), pp. 79-94.

[13]I rely here on Carl Ernst's definition of Sufism: "Sufism can refer to a wide range of phenomena, including scriptural interpretation, meditative practices, master-disciple relationships, corporate institutions, aesthetic and ritual gestures, doctrines, and literary texts. As a generic descriptive term, however, Sufism is deceptive. There is no Sufism in general. All that we describe as Sufism is firmly rooted in particular local contexts, often anchored to the very tangible tombs of deceased saints, and it is deployed in relation to lineages and personalities with a distinctively local sacrality. Individual Sufi groups or traditions in one place may be completely oblivious of what Sufis do or say in other regions". Carl W. Ernst, "Situating Sufism and Yoga", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 15, No. 1 (2005), p. 22. For a short introduction to Islamic mysticism, see Alexander D. Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

[14]Jurgen Wasim Frembgen, *Journey to God: Sufis and Dervishes in Islam*, trans. Jane Ripken (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 7.

[15]Scholars such as Francis Robinson and David Gilmartin distinguish between Sufis and *Ulema* on the basis of association with shrine rituals, Sufi tradition and the ways of observing religious traditions. For him, Sufis believed that "the holy law leaves much to be desired…while *Ulema* cared little for

It is misleading to assume "Muslim" as a uniform category in nineteenth- and twentieth-century India. A number of recent studies show tensions among Muslims of various persuasions such as Shia, Deobandi, Barelwi Sunni, Ahl-i-Hadis, Ahl-i-Quran and so on.[17] Recognizing these differences, this dissertation focusses on the Chishti Sufis.[18] Although polemical debates and *fatwa* (religious edicts) became part of public life in Punjab from the late nineteenth century onwards, neither the artisans' oral tradition, nor colonial sources concerned with artisans, reflect the association of artisans to any particular sect, except Sufism, and their animosity against the other Muslim groups. Sunni artisans actively participated in Shia processions (especially during the month of Muharram), offered their services to Ismaili and Shia families, and believed it to be a service to Islam.[19] In nineteenth-century Punjab, Chishti Sufi's interaction with artisans and other visitors to shrines and

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Sufism" and insisted on formal learning and observance of religious law. Francis Robinson, *The Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001), pp. 177-78. How did *ulema* developed their own tradition of knowledge from 1800 onwards, which in some ways, contested the contemporary Sufi traditions, see Francis Robinson, *Islam South Asia and the West* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 59-98. For differences between *ulema* and Sufis in the context of Punjab also see, Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam*, pp. 52-56.

[16]Elizabeth Sirriyeh, *Sufis and Anti-Sufis: The Defence, Rethinking and Rejection of Sufism in Modern Times* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1988); Muhammad Tahir-ul Qadiri, *haqeekat-e-tasawwuf*, Vol. 1 (Lahore: Minhajul Quran Publications, 2009, 6th ed.).

[17]Justin Jones, *Shi'a Islam in Colonial India: Religion Community and Sectarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Ali Usman Qasmi, *Questioning the Authority of the Past: The Ahl al-Quran Movements in the Punjab* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012); Dietrich Reetz, *Islam in the Public Sphere: Religious Groups in India, 1900-1947* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[18]According to Ernst Chishtiyya Sufism is " both an experience and memory. It is the experience of remembering God so intensely that the soul is destroyed and resurrected. It is also the memory of those who remembered God, those who were devoted to discipline and prayer, but above all, to remembrance, whether they recited the divine name (*zikr*) or evoked his presence through song (*sama*). While the Chishti experience of remembering God is possible, it has rarely been attained only a few have been able to focus their whole being on God, remembering his name and evoking his presence in pursuit of the path of love, the sufi ideal. These were the great ones, in Sufi idiom, the saints, the shakhs, the pirs, the masters and captains of spiritual destiny who drew countless others to God through their exemplary lives and pure passion". Carl W. Ernst and Bruce B. Lawrence, *Sufi Martyrs of Love: The Chishti Order in South Asia and Beyond* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2003), p. 2.

[19]For the involvement of artisans in the making of *tazia* in twentieth-century Chiniot (Punjab), see Ghulam Abbas, *Tazias of Chiniot* (Lahore: Tarikh Publications, 2007). Interview with Baksh Illahi (June-July 2010, Chiniot); Interview with Abdul Wajid (May-June, 2010, Multan).

khanqah, as could be gleaned from the hagiographic literature and artisans' oral tradition, does not clearly mention the sectarian debates. In fact, the Sufis consciously avoided discussing contentious issues (such as debates of the 'Unity of Being', Shia-Sunni divide). So, this dissertation does not treat the Sufi-artisan relationship within a sectarian framework. However, I do highlight the differences (as in the case of the reception of shrines) if my source material identifies them.

British officials used the terms "artisans" and "craftsmen" interchangeably, denoting blacksmiths, potters, weavers, carpenters, calligraphers, builders, shoemakers, and others. In this study, I also use artisan and craftsman interchangeably but I treat artisans as a cultural category, which subsumes many different types of people involving hundreds of very low-status village artisans such as cobblers, leather workers, blacksmiths and also relatively privileged workers, such as goldsmiths, weavers and calligraphers. What binds these different subcategories together is the structures of patronage and the patrons' desires to reflect certain ideas or ideologies through craft production. In nineteenth-century Punjab, Sufis patronized artisans through *khanqah* and *mela*, while the colonial state patronized artisans through art schools, exhibitions and museums. Possibily a significant number of artisans remained indepenent of these patrons, but this dissertation is only concerned with those who were associated with Sufi and colonial art institutions. The first chapter broadly treats Sufis' association with artisans in pre-colonial Punjab to suggest a historical development of the Sufi-artisan relationship. The use of artisan as a broad category in the chapter is also because the translations of medieval sources frequently use "artisan" and "peasant" to denote a general category; to distinguish and explain the subcategories of medieval artisans is not within the purview of this dissertation. The subsequent chapters, however, focus on artisans who were involved in particular types of productions, which the British officials labelled as

"arts and crafts", and even more specifically, those relating to architecture, decoration and design.

0.1. Literature Review

This is a study in cultural history that also engages the discipline of art history, especially the political and social history of art and architecture. Additionally, I draw insights from disciplines such as theology, literature, cultural studies and anthropology. Scholars from these disciplines highlight different aspects of the Sufi-artisan relationship and colonialism, which I will review in this section.

In the 1960s, two French scholars of Sufism, Louis Massignon and Henry Corbin, suggested that Sufi teachings strongly influenced artisans and their practices in the Middle East and Persia since the tenth century.[20] Massignon and Corbin were followed by other scholars of Sufi literature, who do not necessarily discuss the Sufi-artisan relationship; rather, they explain the significance of various arts and crafts (especially calligraphy) for Sufi ideas.[21] This literature provides theological insights about the correlation of Sufi ideas and craftsmanship. Scholars of Sufi history such as Thomas Dahnhardt and Athar Rizvi partially

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[20]Louis Massignon, *Testimonies and Reflections: Essays of Louis Massignon* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989); Louis Massignon, *The Passion of al-Hallaj*, trans. Herbert Mason (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, [1982]); Henry Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn-e-Arabi* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969); Henry Corbin, *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth: From Mazdean Iran to Shi'ite Iran,* trans. N. Pearson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); Henry Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, trans. Liadain Sherrard (London: Kegan Paul International, 1993).

[21]Martin Lings, *A Sufi Saint of the Twentieth Century: Shaikh Ahmad Al-'Alawi: His Spiritual Heritage and Legacy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971 [1961]); Martin Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination* (London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1976); Martin Lings, *What is Sufism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Annemarie Schimmel, *Deciphering the Sings of God: A Phenomenological Approach to Islam* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994); Annemarie Schimmel, *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 1984); Annemarie Schimmel, *The Mystery of Numbers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

discuss the Sufi-artisan relationship in pre-colonial India.[22] Both mention multiple factors in the development of the relationship: political interests of the state to increase its faithful Muslim subjects; the social and economic marginality of artisans; and religious zeal of Sufis to increase conversions and promote their own *silsila*. The pre- and post-partition literature in local languages (Punjabi, Siraiki and Urdu), dealing with the culture and traditions, altogether ignores the Sufi-artisan relationship in the region.[23] My study attempts to fill this gap.

Several social historians writing on pre-colonial societies and artisan guilds also mention this Sufi-artisan relationship. Bernard Lewis highlights, in some detail, the political and economic dimension of the Sufi-artisan relationship and suggests that tax collection and forceful conversions to the ruling sect of Islam were important factors which established this relationship.[24] Other scholars, working either on Muslim societies[25] or regional histories of

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[22]Thomas Dahnhardt, *Change and Continuity in Indian Sufism: A Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi Branch in the Hindu Environment* (New Delhi: PK Printwood, 2002); Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India: Early Sufism and its History in India to AD 1600,* Vol. I (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 2004); Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India: From Sixteenth Century to Modern Century,* Vol. II (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 2004). Several others give a passing reference of this relationship. Anna Suvorova, *Muslim Saints of South Asia: The Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), p. 169; Jamal Malik, "Encounter and Appropriation in the Context of Modern South Asian History", in Jamal Malik (ed.), *Perspectives of Mutual Encounters in South Asian History, 1760-1860* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 325-6.

[23]Ganesh Das, *chaar baagh-i-Panjab*, trans. Amarvant Singh & Mohanjeet Singh, transcribe, Khalid Amin, *mudhli uneehveen sadi da Panjab* (Lahore : Suchet Kitab Ghar, 2005 [1849]); Ahmad Hussain Ahmad Qureishi Qiladaari, *zila Gujrat: tarikh, sukafat, adab* (Lahore : Pakistan Punjabi Adbi board, 1995); Dilshad Kalanchwi, *zila Bahawalpur: tarikh, sukafat, adab* (Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, 1997); Sajjad Haider Parvez, *zila Muzzaffargarh: tarikh, sukafat te adab* (Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, 1989); Sajjad Haider Parvez, *Multan: Multan ki tarikh, tehzib-o-sukafat* (Islamabad: Lok Virsa, 2007); Harkeerat Singh, *yaadaan gunji baardiyan* (Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, 2007); Ahmad Ghazali, *cholistaan* (Lahore: Al- Faisal Nashran, 2007); Naveed Shahzad, *zila Multan: tarikh, sukafat, adab* (Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adab Board, 2001); Kaleem Shahzad, *zila Vehari: tarikh, sukafat, adab* (Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adab Board, 1994). Most of these scholars followed the colonial histories and gazzetters, thus, are thematically similar to colonial sources.

[24]Bernard Lewis, "The Islamic Guilds", *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Nov., 1937), pp. 20-37.

[25]Ira Marvin Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, second edition), pp. 209, 349-50; Mohsen Zakeri, *Sasanid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society: The Origins of 'Ayyaran and Futuwwa* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1995), p. 306.

Spain,[26] Iran and Central Asia,[27] the Middle East[28] and the Ottoman empire,[29] also mention this relationship without elaborating it, because many of them are sceptical about the nature and extent of this association. Yet, they do acknowledge the observance of Sufi rituals in many craft guilds; associations of some guilds to various Sufi orders; Sufi as *Sheikh* (head) of artisan guild; and religious homogeneity of the guild members. I will use these insights to explain the Sufi-artisan relationship in Punjab.

The discipline of cultural anthropology has contributed significantly to our understanding of the Sufi-artisan relationship. Several scholars conducted extensive surveys in Africa, the Middle East and South Asia, described the continuation of historical traditions among the followers of various Sufi orders, and identified the expression of this relationship in art, architecture, and the artisanal apprenticeship.[30] Without discounting social, political and economic factors, they demonstrate how the worldviews of various Sufi communities were reflected in the material culture of contemporary societies. This dissertation also relies on these perspectives to examine the Sufi-artisan relationship.

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[26]L.P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500-1614* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 150.
[27]Mehdi Keyvani, *Artisans and Guild Life in the Later Safavid Period: Contributions to the Social-Economic History of Persia* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1982); Lloyd Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism: A History of Sufi-Futuwwat in Iran* (New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 92-165.
[28]Gabriel Baer, "Guilds in Middle Eastern History", in M.A. Cook (ed.), *Studies in Economic History of Middle East, From the Rise of Islam to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 16-7, 20 ; John T. Chalcraft, *The Striking Cabbies of Cairo and Other Stories: Craft and Guilds in Egypt, 1863-1914* (Albany: State University of New York, 2005), p. 22; Jeol Beinin, *Workers and Peasants in the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 17; Pascale Ghazaleh, "Masters of the Trade: Crafts and Craftspeople in Cairo, 1750-1850", *Cairo Papers in Social Sciences*, Vol.22 (3), (Cairo: American University Cairo, 1999).
[29]Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "The Economic Organization of Cities in Ottoman Syria" in Peter Sluglett (ed.), *The Urban Social History of the Middle East, 1750-1950* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008), pp. 104-40; for another perspective, see Eunjeong Yi, *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Fluidity and Leverage* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 62, 72-81.
[30]Allen F. Roberts and Mary Nooter Roberts, *A Saint in the City: Sufi Arts of Urban Senegal* (Los Angeles: University of California, 2003); Trevor Hugh James Marchand, *Minarat Building and Apprenticeship in Yemen* (Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001); Jurgen Wasim Frembgen, "Religious Folk Art as an Expression of Identity: Muslim Tombstones in the Gangar Mountains of Pakistan", *Muqarnas*, Vol. 15 (1998), pp. 200-10.

Historians of Islamic art and architecture, influenced by the traditionalist approach, identify divine principles in traditional craft and architecture.[31] The traditionalist approach, or *philosophia perennis,* lays emphasis on the spiritual essence of all historic civilizations reflected in every aspect of life. Such scholars view Sufism as a way of living which has influenced local craft practices, suggesting that the traditional designs mediate between the metaphysical/scriptural ideas and human experiences.[32] For them, some symbols in craft, such as geometrical patterns and numerical symbols, have universal meanings, equally understood in different cultures; while other symbols are related to a particular tradition, such as the cross in Christianity and letters in Arabic. This approach is criticised because of over-generalizations and the lack of evidence.[33] Instead, several scholars examine the stylistic

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[31]Rene' Guenon (1887-1951), Ananda Coomaraswamy (1877-1947) and Frithjof Schuon (1907-1998) developed *philosophia perennis*. See Rene Guenon, *East and West* (London: Luzac & Co., 1941); Ananda Coomaraswamy's publications include, *The Indian Craftsman* (London: Probsthain Company, 1909), *Medieval Sinhalese Art* (Broad Campden: Essex House Press, 1908), *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon* (London: T.N. Foulis, 1913), *The Dance of Shiva: Fourteen Indian Essays* (New York: Sunwise Turn, 1918); Frithjof Schuon, *Logic and Transcendence*, trans. P. N. Townsend, (London: Perennial Books, 1975), *Esoterism as Principle and as Way*, trans. William Stoddart (London: Perennial Books, 1982), *From the Divine to the Human*, trans. Gustavo Polit and Deborah Lambert, (Bloomington, Ind.: World Wisdom Books, 1984).

[32]Titus Burckardt, *Sacred Art in East and West,* trans. Lord Northbourne (London: Perennial Books, 1967); Titus Burckardt, *Mirror of the Intellect: Essays on Traditional Science and Sacred Art,* trans. Williams Toddart (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987); Titus Burckardt, *Art of Islam, Language and Meaning* (London, 1976); Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987); Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines: Conception of Nature and Methods used for its Study by Ikhwan al-Safa, al-Biruni, and Ibn Sina* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993); Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture* (New York: University of Chicago Press, 1973); Kieth Critchlow, *Islamic Patterns: An Analytical and Cosmological Approach* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976); Adrian Snodgrass, *Architecture, Time and Eternity,* 2 Vols., (Delhi: P.K. Goel, 1990).

[33]Oleg Grabar, "Symbols and Signs in Islamic Architecture", in R. Holod and D. Rastorfer (eds.), *Architecture and Community* (New York: Aperture, 1983); Gulru Necipoglu, *The Topkapi Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica: Getty Centre for the History of Art and Humanities, 1995); W.K. Chorbachi, "In the Tower of Babel: Beyond Symmetry in Islamic Design", in I. Hargittai (ed.), *Symmetry 2: Unifying Human Understanding* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1989).

aspects of "Islamic" architecture.[34] They see buildings such as Sufi shrines, royal tombs and palaces, caravanserais, as expressions of regional architecture, the invaders' artistic tradition, the patrons' aesthetics, and the skills of individual artists or craftsmen.

Isolating architecture from its context by neglecting to consider contemporary religious views is an ahistoric approach. With this view, several architectural historians find a correlation between the Sufi texts and architecture.[35] Through different case studies of buildings or periods, these scholars propose that symbolism is an important aspect of architecture, deeply embedded in the medieval architectural tradition, and reflected in medieval Sufi texts. Despite their successful attempts at developing a relation between text and architecture, and identifying similar symbols despite stylistic diversity in various regions over time, they establish the relationship between Sufis and artisans not on the basis of historical evidences but "on the logic of relationship and the agency of the spatial sensibility".[36] From a historical perspective, this approach does not explain whether patrons, builders and audience actually understood mystical symbols and iconography or not.

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[34]Oleg Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2006); Oleg Grabar, *Islamic Art and Beyond: Constructing the Study of Islamic Art,* Vol. II (Hamshire: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 87-246; Gulru Necipoglu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Fredrick W Bunce, *Islamic Tombs in India: The Iconography and Genesis of their Design* (New Delhi: DK Printworld, 2004); Bianca Maria Alfieri, *Islamic Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent* (London: Laurence King, 2000); Finbarr B. Flood, "Ghurid Architecture in the Indus Valley: The Tomb of Shaykh Sadan Shahid" in *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 31 (2001), pp. 129-66; Mehrdad Shokoohy, *Muslim Architecture of South India: The Sultanate of Ma'bar and the traditions of maritime settlers on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts (Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Goa)* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003); Jose Pereira, *Islamic Sacred Architecture: Stylistic History* (New Delhi: Books and Books, 1994); Michael Meinecke, *Patterns of Stylistic Changes in Islamic Architecture: Local Traditions versus Migrating Artists* (New York: New York University, 1996).

[35]Abdullah Al-Jasmi and Michael H. Mitias, "Does an Islamic Architecture Exist", *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, T. 60, Fasc. 1, Histo'ria da Filosofia & Outros Ensaios (Jan.–Mar. 2004), pp. 197-214; Ebba Koch, "The Taj Mahal: Architecture, Symbolism, and Urban Significance", *Muqarnas,* Vol.22 (2005), pp.128-49; Samer Akkach, *Cosmology and Architecture in Pre-modern Islam: An Architectural Reading of Mystical Ideas* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005).

[36]Akkach, *Cosmology and Architecture in Premodern Islam*, p. xxii.

In contrast to this scholarship, several historians have examined the ideology or politics of architecture.[37] They argue that mystical influences or regional styles might have been important but medieval dynasties also patronized particular styles of architecture to glorify their ethnic and religious identities; for instance, in India, the sultans and the Mughals patronized Suljuk and Central Asian architecture to express their Muslim and Persian identities.[38] I rely on this scholarship to understand the politics of architecture in nineteenth-century Punjab. My questions are: did the Punjabi Sufis patronise a particular style to represent their ideology or identity? How can we study architecture in the nineteenth-century Punjabi context of political instability and revolts?

The assessment of colonial art schools in India in the current scholarship varies. Some historians see art instruction as an effective tool of colonialism, which replaced local art and craft practices and institutionalized Orientalist perceptions of caste-based and traditional societies in need of British guidance to revive their decaying culture.[39] Colonial art institutions also trained employers for other institutions such as the Archaeological Survey of

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[37]See Robert Powell (ed.), *Architecture and Identity, Proceedings of the Regional Seminar, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, July 25-27, 1983* (Singapore: Concept Media, 1986); Catherine B. Asher, "Mapping Hindu-Muslim Identities through the Architecture of Shahjahanabad and Jaipur" in David Gilmartin and Bruce B. Lawrence (eds.), *Beyond Turk and Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2006), pp. 121-48; Christian W. Troll (ed.), *Muslim Shrines in India: Their Character, History and Significance* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[38]Robert Hillenbrand, "Political Symbolism in Early Indo-Islamic Mosque Architecture: The Case of Ajmir", *Iran,* Vol. 26 (1988), pp. 105-17; Anthony Welch and Howard Crane, "The Tughlaqs: Master Builders of the Delhi Sultanate", *Muqarnas,* Vol. 1 (1983), pp. 123-66; George Michell, "Royal Architecture and Imperial Style at Vijayanagara", in Barbara S. Miller (ed.), *The Power of Art and Patronage in Indian Culture* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 168-79*;* Catherine B. Asher, "Islamic Influence and the Architecture of Vijayanagara" in Anna Dallapiccola and Stephanie Lallement (eds.), *Vijayanagara-City and Empire: New Currents of Research,* Vol. I (Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag, 1985), pp. 188-95; Priscilla P. Soucek, "Persian Artists in Mughal India: Influences and Transformations", *Muqarnas,* Vol. 4 (1987), pp. 166-81.

[39]Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922, Occidental Orientations* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1997); Nadeem Omar Tarar, "From 'Primitive' Artisans to 'Modern' Craftsmen: Colonialism, Culture, and Art Education in the Late Nineteenth-Century Punjab", *South Asian Studies,* Vol. 27(2), (September, 2010), pp. 199-219.

India (ASI), Public Works Department (PWD), and colonial schools. Other historians contest these views and suggest that colonial art instruction had limitations which significantly altered the objectives of the colonial state in India.[40] These scholars identify hegemonic but contradictory objectives behind the establishment of the schools as well as academic and administrative problems, which caused them to exert an uneven influence. Following this scholarship, I propose that administrative problems and students' responses to the instruction undermined the objectives of the art school in Lahore.

Architectural historians too view colonial architecture from various perspectives. One group of scholars focuses on the stylistic developments under the British raj.[41] They discuss the role of individual architects and the colonial state in promoting a particular style, and uncritically use stylistic categories such as British, Muslim, Hindu, ancient, medieval and modern styles. By relying exclusively on the colonial archive, most of these scholars see colonialism not as an intrusion, but rather a positive development for it introduced new construction techniques and architectural styles, and helped the locals reviving their own tradition of architecture. Other historians contest this argument and highlight the ideological import of colonial architecture. In the case of India, they see a relationship of power and architecture concerning

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[40]Mahrukh Keki Tarapor, "Art and Empire: The Discovery of India in Art and Literature, 1851-1947" (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Unpublished PhD dissertation, 1977); Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *The Making of a New Indian Art: Artists, Aesthetics and Nationalist in Bengal, c.1850-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Tapati Guha-Thakurta, "Recovering the Nation's Art" in Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *Texts of Power: Emerging Disciplines in Colonial Bengal* (Calcutta: Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, 1995); Arindam Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of its Global Reproducibility* (London: Routledge, 2007).

[41]Robert Grant Irving, *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Bakers, and Imperial Delhi* (London: Yale University Press, 1981); Philip Davies, *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India, 1660-1947* (London: John Murray, 1985); V. Fass, *The Palaces of India* (New York: Vendome Press, 1980); Samita Gupta, *Architecture of the Raj: Western Deccan, 1700-1900* (Delhi: BR Publishers, 1985); Kamil Khan Mumtaz, *Architecture in Pakistan* (Singapore: Concept Media, 1985).

in particular the Indo-Saracenic style.[42] The local princes copied this style to please the British and appropriated it as a way of reviving their own architectural tradition.

Still others view colonial architecture as eclectic or hybrid, which was intended to be a hegemonic statement representing the empire or meant to be reviving the half-forgotten Indian tradition.[43] However, due to unforeseen circumstances, including shortage of funds, limitations of the designers, builders and craftsmen, individual interests of the colonial administrators, non-availability of construction material, the eclectic style in India was not successful in either reviving the local tradition or representing the grandeur of the empire. My argument follows this scholarship. In Punjab, the colonial state was not able to promote the eclectic style and the local builders continued to use their traditional architecture.

Metropolitan and colonial exhibitions and museums are also understood from various perspectives. Some see exhibitions and museums as discursive institutions and argue that the colonial curators carefully planned exhibition and museums; particular kind of selection and classification of exhibits contributed to disseminate an imperial ideology imbued with colonial science, political and cultural perspectives.[44] This argument is countered by those

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[42]Thomas R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (London: Faber, 1989); William Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City* (London: University of Minnesota, 2008); Andreas Volwahsen, *Splendours of Imperial India: British Architecture in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Munich: Prestel, 2004); For metropolitan developments, see G. Alex Bremner, "Some Imperial Institute: Architecture, Symbolism, and the Ideal of Empire in Late Victorian Britain, 1887-93", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* Vol. 62 (1), (March 2003), pp. 50-73.

[43]Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism & Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996); Gales Henry Rupert Tillotson, *The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy, and Change since 1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (eds.), *Colonial Modernities: Building, dwelling and architecture in British India and Ceylon* (London: Routledge, 2007); Shanti Jayewardene-Pillai, *Imperial Conversation: Indo-Britons and the Architecture of South India* (Delhi: Yoda Press, 2007); Norma Evenson, *The Indian Metropolis: A View toward the West* (London: Yale University Press, 1989).

[44]Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex", *New Formations,* no.4 (Spring, 1988), pp. 73-102; Tony Benett, *The Birth of Museum: History, Theory, Politics, Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994);

who suggest that the hegemonic objectives of colonial exhibitions and museums could not be achieved due to administrative limitations, discordant voices within the colonial state, and unanticipated public responses.[45] I too follow this perspective. In the case of colonial exhibitions on Punjab and the Lahore museum, the objectives of the state changed due to unexpected circumstances, and the officials had to struggle to popularize the colonial art institutions.

0.2. Methodology

To analyse the historical development of the Sufi-artisan relationship in Punjab, I will make use of Peter Berger's concept of *nomos*. In his classic work, *Sacred Canopy*, Berger defines *nomos* (originally the Greek word for "custom, law") as a belief system that inscribes meanings on to life.[46] As the combination of social relations and the vision of society, *nomos* is necessary for the sustenance of a society and without it, society experiences alienation and anomie (the situation when a society's values fail to define the meaning of life). Berger uses

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Tony Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonization* (London: Routledge, 2004); Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992); Benedict Burton (ed.), *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco Panama Pacific Internal Exposition of 1915* (London: Lowie Museum of Anthropology, 1983); Bernard S. Cohn, "Representing Authority in Victorian India" in Eric Hobsbawn and T. Ranger (ed.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 165-210; Carol A. Breckenridge, "The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting: India at World Fairs", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 31 (2), (April 1989), pp. 195-216; Zeynep Celik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

[45]Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California, 2001); Saloni Mathur, *India by Design*: *Colonial History and Cultural Display* (London: University of California Press, 2007); Marieke Bloembergen, *Colonial Spectacles: The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies at the World Exhibitions, 1880-1931,* trans. Beverley Jackson (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006); Gyan Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); John M. Mackenzie, *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

[46]Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of the Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990).

anomie in the Durkheimian sense, that is, the anomic person is the one who may be economically stable but lacks happiness because he or she does not find any meaning in his/her life. *Nomos*, if strongly established, can foster unity and sustain social groups regardless of social and economic differences. My argument about Sufism and its relation with artisans in Punjab relies on this notion of *nomos*. The Sufi *nomos* sustained the shrine-based communities that had similar individual and collective interests, attached similar purpose to life and possessed the same world-view. I am not associating this idea of *nomos* with Punjabi society as a whole. Rather, I propose that *nomos* is essential for sustaining Sufi communities. Punjabi society could exist without Sufi *nomos* but it was necessary for Sufism to maintain a particular kind of belief system to sustain itself.

In structuring and sustaining the Sufi *nomos*, a crucial role is played by *baraka* or *barkat*, a belief shared among followers of Sufis in Punjab. *Baraka* is a Persian word meaning "auspicious" or "well being" or "blessing"; sometimes it is used as the equivalent to Arabic word *fayd* (the energy enabling a Sufi to connect himself or some other individual to a larger part of universe, through which he could travel), or Hinduism' *shaktipat,* literally meaning *"*the transfer of power", which is experienced when "a Guru creates a subtle link between him/herself and the devotee".[47] Clifford Geertz defines *baraka* in Morocco's context but his definition is equally useful for medieval Punjab. For Geertz, *baraka* "encloses a whole range of linked ideas: material prosperity, physical well-being, bodily satisfaction, completion, luck, plenitude…[suggesting] the proposition (against, of course, wholly tacit) that the sacred

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[47]J. Gordon Melton, *The Encyclopaedia of Religious Phenomenon* (Canton, MI: Visible Ink Press, 2008), p. 302. For discussion on *baraka*, see Arthur Buehler, *Sufi Heirs of the Prophet: The Indian Naqshbandiyya and the Rise of the Mediating Sufi Shaykh* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 117-9.

appears most directly in the world as an endowment—a talent and the capacity, a special ability of particular individuals".[48]

Here I shall employ *baraka* in a wider sense, encompassing individual and collective interests which involve the legitimacy of kings, cure from diseases, material prosperity, and self-realization or happiness. This aspect of *baraka*, which is both mystical and materialistic, is invoked by Sufi communities through various rituals, sometimes referred to as *adab* (manners). In Sufism, *adab* means acts performed to profess respect and acknowledge the sanctity of Sufi masters and the Sufi ethos. Such "manners" involve touching the feet of a Sufi, behaving in a certain way in the presence of a Sufi-master, collecting dust from a Sufi's feet, and giving gifts (*futuh*) to Sufis, wearing certain type of dress, taking simple food, observing etiquette while listening to music (*sama*). Court chroniclers and hagiographic sources repeatedly mention this aspect of medieval Indian life.[49] The belief in *baraka* helped in forming the Sufi-artisan relationship, which continued in nineteenth-century Punjab as well.

In studying the Sufi-artisan relationship, I will also take cues from the methodology of Robert Darnton and Carlo Ginzburg. To explain the world and worldview of medieval Punjabi artisan, I consider Punjabi folktales through Darnton's notion of "anthropological symbols" which he employs in *The Great Cat Massacre.*[50] Different clues in Punjabi folktales provide entry point into the medieval world which should be analysed in relation to social and

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[48]Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 33.
[49]See one of the earliest medieval Sufi work on *adab*, Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki, *daleel-ul-arifeen, mulfuzat-e-khwaja ajmeri,* trans. Mutee-ur-Rahman Qureshi Naqshbandi (Lahore: Zia-ul-Quran Publications, 1999).
[50]Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985).

economic factors. To reconstruct the social narrative of medieval artisanal life, I adopt Ginzburg's method of conjectures and speculations. This "conjectural model" according to him "help[s] us to go beyond the sterile contrasting of rationalism and irrationalism".[51] This methodology makes historical reconstruction similar to the interpretation of signs, or to the "abductive model of testimony which treats judgement of testimony as an instance of inference of hidden causes from manifest vestiges and signs".[52] Keeping in view the subjectivity of historical documents, I, like Ginzburg, read the medieval historical record as signs which can provide us with clues about the Sufi-artisan relationship.

Robert Darnton borrows tools from cultural anthropology, which can answer many questions concerning our past societies and cultures as both anthropologists and historians aim to understand socially shared meanings. For Darnton, it is important to know "what the event meant to the people who participated in it".[53] He explains the story of the great cat massacre by first formulating a tentative perspective and then explaining it by reference to other sources (autobiographies, social and cultural histories, folktales, proverbs, etc).[54] On the basis of the Old Regime's archival sources, he finds that French people were troubled by issues such as toothaches, horrifying stories, etc. Their proverbs and idioms are opaque to us. Darnton believes that this "opacity", rupture or abnormality can be an entry point in that alien terrain because such opacity is part of the texts written and embedded in a particular social

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[51]C. Ginzburg, "Clues: Morelli, Freud, and Sherlock Homes", *History Workshop*, No. 9 (Spring 1980), p. 6.
[52]Nick Jardine, "Explanatory Geneologies and Historical Testimony", *Episteme* (2008), p. 165.
[53]Robert Darnton, "The Symbolic Element in History", *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 58 (1), (March 1986), p. 228.
[54]Ibid.

and cultural context.[55] We can use these opacities to make sense of different and distant cultures.

How to analyse opacity in a text? Symbols are complex, polysemic and fluid, denoting multiple meanings for various groups of people. Anthropologists such as Michael Herzfeld,[56] James W. Fernandez[57] and Keith Basso,[58] who have studied Greek peasants, rattle and harp among the Fang of Gabon, carrion beetles and butterflies among the Apache of Arizona, respectively, contend that a community's insiders have their own way of constructing and interpreting symbols which outsiders find hard to understand. Like Darnton, I will read symbols broadly, "in connection with any act that conveys a meaning, whether by sound, image or gesture".[59] Darnton uses this notion of symbolism without engaging semiotics and linguistics, because for him what appears more opaque can provide clues and insights about a culture. Punjabi folktales, too, present such opacity, which provides clues about medieval artisan's world.

In nineteenth-century colonial Punjab, compilation of folktales was the result of a complicated process as R.C. Temple (1850-1931), an officer in the British Indian army, admits in the introduction to his collection.[60] The method was problematic. There was a

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[55]Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre*, pp. 77-8.
[56]Michael Herzfeld, "An Indigenous Theory of Meaning and its Elicitation in Performative Context", *Semiotica*, Vol. 34 (1981), pp. 135-9.
[57]James W Fernandez, "Symbolic Consensus in a Fang Reformative Cult", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 67 (1965), pp. 902-29.
[58]Keith Basso, "'Wise Words' of the Western Apache, Metaphor and Semantic Theory", in Keith Basso and Henry Selby (eds.), *Meaning in Anthropology* (Albuquerque: NM, 1976), pp. 93-122.
[59]Darnton, "The Symbolic Element in History", p. 223.
[60]Temple's local subordinates assisted him in recording folktales. After a speaker completed his narration, Temple used to enquire about some details, which in most of the cases, the speaker was often unable to elucidate. Temple opined that these narrators were ignorant and thought it better to interpret rather than just recording the narrator's tale. Temple's *munshi* (assistant) was usually reluctant to record the precise words of illiterate and ignorant and so corrected or altered the narration. After realizing the problems in this method of recording folktales, Temple asked the *munshi* to retell

strong possibility that local narrators were afraid of the British officers, whom they considered powerful and in many cases brutal. When Temple invited them to his residence or office, they must have been overwhelmed by the environment. Temple, too, hints to it, when he says that *marasis* could forget when he asked them to repeat their poetry, so he normally avoided this. According to Temple, many of these *marasis* were drug addicts, so he provided them with opium some food and rupees in exchange for narrating their tales. While some "literate" wanted money along with a letter of appreciation, some others could be happy with a blank paper which they took as a good luck charm. Temple's description gives an idea of what he thought about his narrators. He believed them to be "illiterate", "ignorant" and "superstitious". It also explains why he did not expect any interpretation of folktales from them. It is here that Temple engages his own understanding of Punjabi folktales, that is, the Aryan literature is necessary to understand the religious and superstitious Punjabi society, as well as its local history and culture. The method of Flora Annie Steel (1847-1929), an English writer and wife of a colonial officer, was no different from Temple's. She requested local *munshees* to record tales from *marasis.*

By keeping view of these problems and biases in the colonial texts, I will use a few other texts which are either in Punjabi or translated from Persian in Urdu. Punjabi folktales have many versions, but if we ignore minor variations, they more or less provide the same narrative. Like Darnton, my focus will be on the opacity rather than differences between

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the story to the narrator and get it corrected. Then he himself wrote it in English before narrating it to the *munshi* who had first listened to it. Temple's preference was to ask the narrator to visit his home or office for narrating the tales. Narrators, who usually belonged to the lower strata (*marasis*), narrated these folktales on special occasions such as death anniversaries, birth, marriages, Sufi festivals, etc. See for discussion on his method of recording, Richard Carnac Temple, *The Legends of the Panjab*, Vol. I (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1884?), pp. vii-xii.

various versions of the same tale. I will discuss the "opacities" which provide clues about the Sufi-artisan relationship.

Along with folktales, I will also tap into the oral traditions of artisan families, who claim to follow Sufism and whose ancestors had close links with prominent Sufis in Punjab. These artisan families view Sufism as a way to interpret their craft practices. One such family is the Ansari, who claims to have an Arab origin and to have come to India in the eighth century along with the Arab army. Since then, they have been practicing tile-making and tile decoration (*kashigari*) in shrine and palace. Abdul Wajid, a member of the family, claims that in the nineteenth century, his family was involved in many shrine projects under the supervision of the Sufis or their successors.[61] Whatever they practice, the meanings of these decorative motifs come from the Sufi ideas.

Same is the case with the Rajput family, who practice wall painting (*naqqashi*). They claim their origin from a local Hindu tribe, who converted to Islam on the preaching of a thirteenth-century prominent Sufi in Multan, Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya. Since then, they are associated with shrine and palace architecture. Like the Ansari family, the Rajputs also trace their connection to prominent Sufis, including a nineteenth-century Sufi, Suleman Taunsvi.[62] Abdul Rehman, a member of this family, claims that Sufism has influenced their practices, the meanings associated to their crafts were mainly defined by the Sufi teachings. Another such family is the Pathan, who are carpenters by profession. Baksh Ilahi, a member of this

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[61]The family tree of Abdul Wajid is, Muhammad Ramzan, Khuda Baksh, Ali Muhammad, Hasan Baksh, Allah Divaya, Abdul Wajid. Interview with Abdul Wajid (May-June, 2010, Multan). Probably Muhammad Ramzan, Khuda Baksh, and Ali Muhammad and Hasan Baksh belong to the nineteenth century.

[62]From the Rajput family, Illahi Bakh (n.d.), Ustad Allah Baksh (d.1905) and Ustad Khuda Baksh (1840-1956) were important *naqqash*. Interview with Abdul Rehman, member of the Rajput family (May-June 2010, Multan).

family, claims that his in-laws practiced this craft in the nineteenth century. Baksh, whose masters learnt the craft from nineteenth-century carpenters in Chiniot, also suggests a close links of carpentry and Sufism.[63] One family of weavers from Bhera trace their craftsmanship from the nineteenth century. A member of this family, Hafiz Muhammad Ismael, claims a close association of his family to a nineteenth-century Sufi, Shamsuddin Siyalvi and his successors.[64]

It is important to appreciate the context in which I conducted these interviews. Between 2006 and 2010, the Taliban attacked many Sufi shrines in Pakistan, the relations between India and Pakistan were severely damaged as a result of the Mumbai attacks in November 2008, the Pakistani media and the government perceived warnings and threats from India and the US as a precursor of war, and the US continued to carry out drone attacks in the tribal areas of the country. These artisan families were strongly influenced by this situation. In fact, south Punjab was regarded as a recruiting ground for the Taliban fighters, and the locals anticipated aerial strikes in this region. In this context, the artisan families narrated their linkages to Sufism and showed their aversion to British colonialism. So, many current factors could have influenced the interviewees: the post 9/11 situation, the artisans' practising in a "Muslim" state which in a popular and constitutional sense asserts its "Islamic identity" and the artisans' association to contemporary Sufism. To minimize the influence of contemporary situation on oral accounts, I have cited only that information, which I could make sense of in relation to nineteenth-century Sufi texts, political, art and architectural histories.

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[63]Baksh Illahi's ancestors were not carpenters, he learnt this craft from his father-in-law, Muhammad Zaheer Khan. Interview with Baksh Illahi (June-July 2010, Chiniot).

[64]The family tree of Hafiz Muhammad Ismael, almost 80, is Allah Ditta, Haji Allah Baksh, Ghulam Yaseen, Bashir Ahmad, Hafiz Muhammad Ismael. Interview with Hafiz Muhammad Ismael, member of a weaver's family, (June-July 2010, Bhera, district Sargodha).

A number of studies on colonial India rely on Michel Foucault's concept of knowledge/power in espousing the discursive practices of disciplinary institutions, which supposedly resulted in the "loss of subject".[65] In this dissertation, I contest these Foucauldian ideas of disciplinary institutions and the loss of subject.[66] Foucault finds a nexus of power and knowledge in the notion of discourse, which he derives from the structuralism of Levi-Strauss, Lacan and Barthes. Discourse, a truth that holds validity within the particular context of a society, functions because of the institutional practices, procedures and mechanisms that operate in that society.[67] Foucault assumes that institutions define the role of individuals within a discursive field.[68] In other words, Foucault considers the subject's authority as absolutely unprivileged. His notion of discourse is ahistoric because it evades the study of "evolutionary mode" of discursive fields, provides no clue about the origins of power, and sees no form of collective resistance.[69] Foucault himself admits that his works are

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[65]Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Martha Kaplan, "Panopticon in Poona: An Essay on Foucault and Colonialism". *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 10(1), (February 1995), pp. 85-98; Zahid Chaudhary, "Phantasmagoric Aesthetics: Colonial Violence and the Management of Perception", *Cultural Critique*, No. 59 (Winter 2005), pp. 63-119; Rachel J. Tolen, "Colonizing and Transforming the Criminal Tribesmen: The Salvation Army in British India", *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 18(1), (February 1991), pp. 106-25.

[66]For a discussion, also see my article, "Exteriority of Discourse and Disappearance of Man: Negotiating with Foucault in Constructing Colonial India", *The Historian,* Vol.6 (2), (July-December 2008), pp. 139-54.

[67]According to Foucault discourse "is produced by the groups of signs…acts of formulation, a series of sentences or propositions … a discourse is constituted by a sequence of signs, in so far as they are statements …[which] assign particular modalities of existence". Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tevistock Publications, 1972), p. 107.

[68]The "[power] reaches into the very grain of the individual, touches his body, intrudes into his gestures, his attitudes, his discourse, his apprenticeship, his daily life". Millicent Dillon and Michel Foucault, "Conversation with Michel Foucault", *The Threepenny Review*, No. 1 (Winter-Spring, 1980), p. 4.

[69]Aijaz Ahmed, "Postmodernism in History", in K.N. Panikkar, Terence J. Byres and Utsa Patnaik (eds.), *The Making of History: Essays Presented to Irfan Habib* (Delhi: Tulika, 2000), pp. 467-8.

"exaggerated" and "historical fiction", written for his future readers.[70] Contemporary readers cannot understand or realize the truth in his discourse.

Despite Foucault's limitations, such as Eurocentricism and overgeneralizations, Edward Said found his concepts useful, especially discourse, discursive fields, archives, etc.[71] Said's study of "Orientalism" inherited Foucault's ahistoric approach and overgeneralization in that he viewed colonial disciplinary institutions in complete control of non-reflexive subjects in the colonies.[72] Since the 1980s, several South Asianists, influenced by Michel Foucault and Edward Said, have focussed on colonial institutions such as the army, prisons, and schools,[73] and argued for their rigid structure as well as the loss of subjectivity of the colonized.

I contest such theoretical assumptions by relying on the insights of several other scholars, who challenge the hegemonic view of colonial institutions by highlighting the contestations to colonialism at contact points; inability of colonial officials to understand the local culture; the crisis faced by the colonial power due to revolts and resistances.[74] These scholars see

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[70]Dillon and Foucault, "Conversation with Michel Foucault", p. 5.
[71]Ruben Chuaqui, "Notes on Edward Said's View of Michel Foucault", *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics*, No.25 (2005), pp. 96-7.
[72]For instance Said over-generalizes the Orientalism. He defines it as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient", and suggests that "Orientalism expresses and represents … culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles". Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), pp. 1-3.
[73]For discussions on this aspect, see Tony Ballantyne, "Archive, Discipline, State: Power and Knowledge in South Asian Historiography", *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies,* Vol. 3(1), (June 2001), pp. 87-105; Rosalind O'Hanlon and David Washbrook, "Histories in Transition: Approaches to the Study of Colonialism and Culture in India", *History Workshop,* No. 32 (Autumn, 1991), pp. 110-27.
[74]Rosalind O'Hanlon and David Washbrook, "After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism, and Politics in the Third World", in *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* Vol. 34 (1), (January 1994), pp. 141-67; David Washbrook, "Orients and Occidents: Colonial Discourse Theory and the Historiography of the British Empire", in Robin Winks (ed.), *Oxford History of the British Empire,* Vol. V, *Historiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Carol A. Breckenridges and Peter van deer Veer (eds.), *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); For Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's critique on

locals as active participants whose choices and responses influenced the colonial policies and the colonial state as dependent on the locals for collaboration. They also show the continuation of the pre-colonial traditions which either remained unaffected or reformed themselves vis-à-vis colonialism.[75] Taking a cue from *Subaltern Studies,* this dissertation shows a parallel domain of Sufis and artisans that contested the colonial art domain in nineteenth-century Punjab.[76] I will highlight the dynamics of change, continuation, contestations, hegemonic and counter-hegemonic voices in the study of colonial art institutions.

Said, Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Spivak argue that the colonial archive is constructed with certain ideological objectives, and accordingly ignores many aspects of the colony.[77] To examine such ideologically biased documents, I will use Ginzburg's conjectural model, to make sense of the clues about the anxieties, dissent, hegemonic and counter hegemonic perspectives of the colonial officers and the responses of locals to the state. Discordant voices also show the varied experiences and visions of the colonial officials, who were sometimes

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Foucault's concepts, "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography", *Subaltern Studies,* Vol. IV (1985), Writings on South Asian History and Society, pp. 330-63; Partha Chatterjee, "The Disciplines in Colonial Bengal" in Chaterjee (ed.), *Texts of Power*, pp. 1-29.

[75]Scholars who worked with this perspective are Bayly, *Empire and Information*; Tirthankar Roy, *Traditional Industry in the Economy of Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley: University of California, 2006); Michael H. Fisher, *Counterflows to Colonialism: Indian Travellers and Settlers in Britain 1600-1857* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004); Anand A. Yang, *Limited Raj: Agrarian Relations in Colonial India, Saran District 1793-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650-1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty.*

[76]Ranajit Guha, "On Some Aspects of the Colonial Historiography", *Subaltern Studies,* Vol. I (1982), p. 4.

[77]Ranajit Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's article, "Can the Subaltern Speak" in her book, *Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

acting independently, reluctantly, unintentionally, or under some compulsion. I will consider the colonial archive in relation to the local sources such as the oral traditions of artisans, folktales, local histories, etc. to explain the clues in the colonial documents.

In summary, this dissertation attempts to retrieve the voices of locals in nineteenth-century Punjab. Historians normally consider political domination as a mean of control over art, architecture and culture. The case of Punjab is different. Neither artisans nor the Sufis had political power, but they attempted to dominate the local culture, promoted different identities (Chishti Sufism, Muslim), and resisted colonial art institutions. In the case of colonial art institutions in Punjab, neither the officials nor the locals were subordinated to institutional practices; rather, they were active participants in the events, which can hardly be appreciated in the Saidian analytical framework. Similarly, this dissertation suggests to understand Sufism within the political and cultural context. Mystical ideas were effective ways of influencing the relations among human beings, and ruler and ruled, builder and architecture, pilgrims and shrines. So, Sufis' role in influencing the material world and vice versa must be taken into account.

In the first chapter, I will study the historical interaction of Sufis and artisans in medieval Punjab through folktales. The second chapter is about the correlation of mystical and political ideas of the Sufis as reflected in shrine architecture in nineteenth-century Punjab. I will give one case study of the construction of Suleman Taunsvi's shrine providing insights about the Sufi-artisan relationship. The chapter also explains the reception of shrines as symbols of Muslim identity. The third and fourth chapters are concerned with colonial art institutions (Mayo School of Arts, exhibitions, and the Lahore museum), and study the limitations of colonial projects of art instruction and artisanal training.

CHAPTER 1. FOLKLORE AND THE SUFI-ARTISAN RELATIONSHIP IN PUNJAB (ca. 1300-1800)

In the 1960s, when several European scholars were interested in non-European "alternative cultures", two French scholars, Louis Massignon and Henry Corbin, proposed the idea of a relationship between artisanal practices and Sufism.[1] These works, however, are over-generalized, lack contexualization, and provide little insights into the mechanism of the Sufi-artisan relationship as to how and why it was established and reproduced. A number of contemporary scholars, especially working on Ottoman guilds, historicise the Sufi-artisan relationship by analysing a particular period and artisan community.[2] However, others reject the idea of mystical aspect of craft practices and highlight social and economic concerns behind the working of craft guilds.[3]

Historians of medieval India have hardly considered artisanal life and its relationship with Sufism and their main emphasis remains on agricultural life, village communities, trade,

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[1]Louis Massignon, *The Passion of al-Hallaj*, trans. Herbert Mason (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994 [1982]); Henry Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn-e-Arabi* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969). Even earlier, in the 1930s, the American scholar, Bernard Lewis, inspired by Massignon's early writings, surveyed the working of Islamic guilds and came up with the same conclusions. By taking examples from Indonesia to the Middle East, Lewis contended that throughout the medieval period, Sufism strongly influenced guilds, which "have always had a deep-rooted ideology, a moral and ethical code, which was taught to all novices at the same time as the craft itself". Bernard Lewis, "The Islamic Guilds", *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 8 (1), (November 1937), p. 37.

[2]For instance, see Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature", *Studia Islamia*, Vol. 68 (1989), pp. 121-150; Onur Yilirim, "Ottoman Guilds as a Setting for Ethno-Religious Conflict: The Case of the Silk-Thread Spinners' Guild in Istanbul', *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 47 (3), (December 2002), pp. 407-419.

[3]See how secular, Marxian and religious persuasions explain the medieval Ottoman craft guilds, Siraiya Faroghi, "Understanding Ottoman Guilds", in Siraiya Faroghi & Randi Deguilhem (eds.), *Crafts and Craftsmen of the Middle East: Fashioning the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005), pp. 3-40; Siraiya Faroghi, *Artisans of the Empire: Crafts and Craftspeople Under the Ottomans* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011). For craft guilds in a global perspective, see Jan Lucassen, Tine De Moor and Jan Luiten van Zanden (eds.), *The Return of the Guilds* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2009).

urbanization, etc.[4] Attention to the Sufi-artisan relationship is also missing in works on medieval Sufism, even when they mention the influence of Sufism on artisans' life and provide some information about artisans who followed Sufis.[5] Overlooking the Sufi-artisan relationship is understandable because artisans have never been the main concern of medieval historical and hagiographic literature.

My study addresses this missing link of the Sufi-artisan relationship in the historiography of medieval Punjab. I do not claim that Sufis had close interaction with artisans in the whole Muslim world, nor do I suggest that all artisan communities in medieval Punjab were staunch followers of Sufis. My argument is that if there was an association of artisans and Sufis, it could be limited to a few artisan communities in a few villages or cities; still, this relationship remains neglected in historical studies. The Sufi-artisan relationship shows how deeply Sufi institutions (*khanqah,* shrine and *mela*) influenced the artisans and their craft practices, thus suggesting a correlation of Sufi ideas and artisanal practices, which helped the artisans to construct the theoretical basis of their craft. The second chapter explains the correlation of Sufi ideas and craft practices (shrine architecture), which aimed at defining the Muslim identity that was deployed against the Sikhs and the British in the nineteenth century. Here my concern is to show the historically grounded Sufi-artisan relationship in pre-colonial Punjab by using the opacities in Punjabi folktales. These opacities (or opaque and abnormal points) provide clues, if analysed in relation to other medieval sources (like court histories), as to the socio-economic position of artisans and their strong association with Sufis. Sufi

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[4]Romila Thapar, *Early India, From the Origins to AD 1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India, c.1200-c.1750,* Vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

[5]For instance see Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India: Early Sufism and its History in India to AD 1600,* Vol. I (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 2004); Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India: From Sixteenth Century to Modern Century,* Vol. II (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 2004).

institutions disseminated the concept of *baraka* (blessing power of a Sufi) through various rituals and practices involving recitation of formulae, music etc., which, in turn, developed the Sufi *nomos.* The articulation of *baraka* helped in establishing and continuing the Sufi-artisan relationship, which enjoyed the patronage of kings, nobles, traders and others.

1.1. Punjabi Folktales

Folktales, an important genre of popular culture in pre-colonial and colonial Punjab, express the artisans' *mentalité* in relation to their historical experiences. This is not to suggest that the meanings attached to folktales remained the same throughout the medieval period; in fact, the locals understood these stories according to their own contexts and in narrating and re-narrating these stories changed their meanings. As the social conditions of narrator and listener changed over time, my reading does not necessarily typify artisanal or Sufi culture in pre-colonial Punjab. The representation of Sufis and artisans in folktales only provides clues which can be related to the social history to give insight into the Sufi-artisan relationship based on *baraka*. Before discussing this representation, I will provide an overview of different contemporary approaches to the study of Punjabi folktales — i.e., which are philologist (or Orientalist), Sufist and socio-cultural — to differentiate my approach.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, British scholars compiled folktales to gather "authentic" information about Punjab. Mainly triggered by German philology, which through Maximillian Müller was introduced in Britain and popularized by anthropologist E.B. Taylor,[6] colonial folklorists in Punjab –William Crooke,[7] R.C. Temple[8] and Flora Annie

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[6]Edward B. Taylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom,* Vol., I (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1883, reprinted); Edward B. Taylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom,* Vol., II (London: John Murray, 1873).

Steel[9]—understood Punjabi folktales as a primitive Aryan oral tradition. Several scholars criticize such compilations because the colonial folklorists not only de-contextualized the tales but also ignored the possibilities of social change in Punjabi society.[10] Apart from preconceived European notions of caste-system, Aryan race, primitive or pre-literate mind, the British viewed folktales as the "popular, non-Brahminical superstitions of the lower orders".[11] This process of collecting folktales involved interaction of the British with the locals, which was marked by suspicion and resistance. Thus, the inclusion and exclusion of tales were "connected explicitly with the surveillance and disciplining of the Indian population".[12]

However, there are tensions within "colonialism-generated folk narratives" as Sadhana Naithani notes.[13] Characters remain the same but they reflect a contemporary reality. For instance, two stories, *Momiai wala sahib* and *Dinapur wala sahib*, from William Crooke's collection, which he typifies as "belief in ghosts and spirits", can also be read as stories showing local perceptions of the colonial rule as both characters, *Momiai wala sahib* and *Dinapur wala sahib,* are English and are involved in the kidnapping and murdering of Indians. Sometimes, real characters become part of the narrative without any symbolic or old

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[7]Crooke edited *Punjab Notes and Queries* (renamed *North Indian Notes and Queries* in 1890).
[8]Richard Carnac Temple, *The Legends of the Panjab,* 3 Vols. (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1884-1885?).
[9]Flora Annie Steel, *Tales of the Punjab: Told by the People* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1894).
[10]Gloria Goodwin Raheja, "Caste, Colonialism, and the Speech of the Colonized: Entextualization and Disciplinary Control in India", *American Ethnologist,* Vol. 23 (3), (August 1996), pp. 494-513; Kirin Narayan, "Bana Republics and VI Degrees: Rethinking Indian Folklore in a Postcolonial World", *Asian Folklore Studies,* Vol. 52 (1), (1993), pp. 177-204.
[11]Mary Frere, *Old Deccan Days, or Hindoo fairy legends current in southern India,* (London: John Murray, 1898, second edition), p. xiii.
[12]Raheja, "Caste, Colonialism, and the Speech of the Colonized", p. 498.
[13]Sadhana Naithani, "An Axis Jump: British Colonialism in the Oral Folk Narratives of Nineteenth-Century India", *Folklore,* Vol. 112 (2), (October 2001), pp. 183-8.

identity.[14] Such tensions within the colonial folktales compilations suggest that these texts can be read in both ways: to see the reflection of colonial understanding about the locals; and to explain the perceptions of the locals about the British.

Several contemporary scholars argue that the vocabulary of Punjabi folktales reflects a strong influence of Sufism.[15] As many folktales were (re)written by Sufis or their followers,[16] by analysing the context of writer and the places where these folktales were narrated, scholars argue that metaphoric language represents Sufi ideas. Richard Eaton uses the same approach and describes how in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Deccani women sang folk poetry which was written by Sufis of Bijapur.[17]

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[14]The rumours about G.A. Grierson's survey are part of the colonial documents: "Grierson Sahib is counting boats and cattle in order to take them away for the Government's war in Egypt. He is counting the wells because he is aware of an impending famine when these would be reserved for the British families. Children are being counted to be buried in the foundation of the bridge that the government is constructing over the Gandak river. Adults are being counted for use in war". Quoted in Ibid., p.186. Similarly, Henry Lawrence and Richard Temple are also living characters of nineteenth-century Punjabi folktales in which Sufis force them to take care of locals.

[15]Syed Ali Abbas Jalalpuri, *wahdat-ul-wujud te punjabi shairi* (Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, 2003), pp. 187-259; Syed Ali Abbas Jalalpuri, *maqalat-e-waris shah* (Lahore: Rohtas Books, 1989); Annemarie Schimmel's introduction to Samina Quraeshi (ed.), *Legends of the Indus* (Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2004); Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. II, pp. 437-57.

[16]Heer Ranjha had many versions, but Waris Shah's Heer was more popular among the locals. The first version is supposedly written by Damordur Das (1605-1656), he was followed by other poets such as Hafiz Barkhurdar (1658-1707), Hamid Shah Abbasi (1700-1771), Maqbal Shah (1720-1780), Maulvi Ahmad Yar (1768-1848), Maulvi Ghulam Rasul Alampuri (1849-1892), Mian Muhammad Baksh (1830-1904). Another folktale *Sohni Mahiwaal*, is written by Shah Abdul Latif Bhattai (1689–1752) in Sindhi and Siraiki languages. Sayyid Hashim Shah (1752-1821), Maulvi Ahmad Yar (1768-1848), Qadir Yar (1802-1892), Mian Muhammad Baksh (1830-1904) wrote its other versions in Punjabi. *Sassi Pannu* is written by Shah Abdul Latif Bhattai (in Sindhi/Siraiki language), while in Punjabi, Sayyid Hashim Shah (1752-1821), Maulvi Ahmad Yar (1768-1848), Maulvi Ghulam Rasul Alampuri (1849-1892) have written its various versions. See for details, Faqir Muhammad Faqir, *Punjabi zaban vo adab ki tarikh* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publication, 2002); Lajwanti Rama Krishna, *Punjabi Sufi Poets, A.D. 1460 - 1900* (Sahiwal: Wichaar Publishers, 2009).

[17]Eaton mentions three interrelated themes of Deccan folk poetry: "(1) an ontological link established between God, the prophet Muhammad, one's own pir, and the reciter herself; (2) the use of the grindstone or the spinning wheel, or the mechanical parts thereof, to illustrate the above; and (3) the use of the mystics' zikr, or spiritual exercise, to accompany and even to regulate the various phases of the woman's work". Richard M. Eaton, "Sufi Folk Literature and the Expansion of Indian Islam", *History of Religions*, Vol. 14 (2) (November 1974), p. 122.

Inspired by Marxist and nationalist considerations, some scholars interpret folktales to understand social conditions and anxiety among the lower strata of society towards elite classes and foreign invaders. In such interpretations, verbal imagery such as river and desert, are interpreted metaphorically as social and cultural barriers, so crossing signifies rebellion against the power structure. Najm Hosain Syed suggests that it is misleading to interpret Punjabi folktales by using Sufi ideas; these are simple messages of protest against contemporary injustices.[18] Other scholars, without discounting the Sufi influence, highlight resistance in Punjabi culture through folktales as a way to reinforce Punjabi identity.[19]

None of the above approaches highlights the aspects of artisanal life or their interaction with Sufis. I will adopt Robert Darnton's method of studying opacities in French folktales to examine the Sufi-artisan relationship in pre-colonial Punjab. Darnton finds opacity in the now notorious act of a massacre of cats by Parisian typographers, which symbolizes not only entertainment but also resistance and protest. In Punjabi folktales, we can also identify some opacities such as the reluctance of artisans to accompany the hero, and the prayer by the Sufis or the giving away of some object (cloth or stick) with supernatural or blessing power, which provide clues to the medieval artisans' *mentalités.* These opacities can be read vis-à-vis the social history of medieval Punjab to understand the Sufi-artisan relationship.

First, we must consider the reluctance that is a typical trait of artisan communities in folktales. In the story of *Raja Risalu*,[20] the hero, Risalu, plans to leave his palace because his

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[18]Najm Hosain Syed, *Recurrent Patterns in Punjabi Poetry* (Lahore: Just in Group Printers, 2006).
[19]Shafqat Tanvir Mirza, *Resistance Themes in Punjabi Literature* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1992); Saeed Bhutta, *kamal kahani* (Lahore: Sanjh Publications, 2006); Saeed Bhutta, *des diyan vaaran* (Lahore: Punjab Institute of Language, Art and Culture, 2007).
[20]In 1869, a local *patwari* recorded this story for J.G. Dalmirk, member of Punjab Commission. Richard Temple reproduced this text in his compilation. Richard Carnac Temple, *The Legends of the Panjab*, Vol. I (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1884?), pp. 1-65.

father, Raja Sahalban, believes that his son would die if he meets his son before the latter reaches the age of twelve. Risalu goes to the jungle with his three companions: a carpenter's son, a goldsmith's son and a parrot. During their stay, a serpent attacks them but the carpenter's son kills it. After sometime, Risalu kills another serpent which is larger than the previous one. Next day when they show each other the serpents they killed last night, the carpenter's and goldsmith's sons become afraid of the large serpent killed by Risalu and tell him, "you are *raja*, you can fight with such things, we are common men. If we live with you, we will be definitely killed". They, thus, convince Risalu to let them go. When another goldsmith's son comes to rescue his father who had been imprisoned by Raja Hari Chend for making jewellery, Risalu manipulates the situation and marries the daughter of Hari Chend with the goldsmith's son. The goldsmith's family, during the whole episode, is represented as afraid of the *raja* and reluctant to act on Risalu's advice. Such image of marginality is also represented in other Punjabi folktales.[21] Post-partition folktale compilations, which aim to define and explain the "Punjabi identity", represent artisans in alliance with the hero in their resistance to invaders. Even in such narratives, which stress resistance, artisans are dependent on their master to fight against injustices.[22] Here, I am concerned with the reason why artisan families are shown to be a docile and marginal and unable to manage their lives without the help of some powerful agent. Can we relate such representation with the social history of artisans in medieval Punjab? I will address this question in the next section of this chapter.

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[21]For instance, see "Jajali, the Blacksmith's Daughter" in Richard Carnac Temple, *The Legends of the Panjab*, Vol. II (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1885/86?), pp. 163-76.

[22]Bhutta mentions a number of artisans such as Mammo Mochi (Mammo the cobbler), Khakhrana Mochi (Khakrana the cobbler) and Masti Maachi (potter), who fought against the invaders. Plot of these stories eulogizes the resistance of local heroes (such as Dullah Bhatti, Rai Bahadur Khan Kheral) against the state or invaders. Bhutta, *Kamal kahani*, also see Bhutta, *des diyan vaaran*.

The characters of *fakir, jogi* or Sufi are common in Punjabi folktales. Through the act of prayer, they can invoke supernatural powers (predicting, explaining dreams, killing their enemies, giving life to a dead, granting sons, etc). Hardly any tale represents a Sufi negatively. The act of praying or cursing is always a turning point in the tales. For instance, in *Raja Risalu,* a series of events starts when a *fakir* prays for the birth of Risalu, and a *jogi* advises his parents not to see their boy until the age of twelve. When Risalu leaves his palace and wanders around, he himself becomes disciple of a *jogi* which leads to his union with his beloved. We see the same plot in another folktale, *Heer Ranjha,* in which the hero, Ranjha, becomes the disciple of a *jogi* to find his beloved, Heer. In these tales, the *jogi*, *fakir* or Sufi is represented as a pious person with miraculous powers.

The belief in Sufi's miraculous powers is more evident in the tales and poetry in which Sufis are central characters, which were especially popular among the artisan communities.[23] Such representation of Sufis in Punjabi folktales begs several questions: What were the social and economic conditions which led to the construction of such representation? Why is it a recurrent theme that a hero must be associated with a Sufi or *fakir*? Why are the miraculous powers of Sufis deployed against the power-structure? I will explain the reasons for this representation in the third section of this chapter.

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[23]For instance, lullabies of Sakhi Sarwer (d.1174) and *Qassida* of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani (d.1166). Abdul Qafoor Darchen (ed.), *sakhi sarwer ki lorian* (Islamabad: Lok Virsa, nd.); Temple, *The Legends of the Panjab,* Vol. II, pp. 116-32. Interview with Abdul Wajid (May-June 2010, Multan).

1.2. Artisans in Medieval Punjab (ca. 1300-1800)

Medieval sources — histories,[24] travelogues[25] and autobiographies[26]— provide little information about artisans' life in India or Punjab. This paucity seriously hampers the efforts of economic and social historians to reflect upon medieval artisans.[27] Scholars influenced by *Subaltern Studies,* Edward Said and Michel Foucault examine the characteristics of Indian society and economy, and internal structures (such as caste system, villages), but also ignore the dynamics of artisanal lives.[28]

My larger frame of analysis for examining artisans' socio-economic position in medieval Punjab is borrowed from Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, who suggest that throughout the medieval period (thirteenth to eighteenth centuries) the mechanisms of the Indian

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[24]Shams Siraj Afif (1400), *tarikh-i-firuzshahi,* trans. & eds. H.M. Elliot & John Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians,* Vol. III (London: Trubner Company, 1871), pp. 269-373; Minhaju-s Siraj (1259), *tabakat-i-nasiri,* trans. & eds. H.M. Elliot & John Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians,* Vol. II (London: Trubner Company, 1869), pp. 259-383; Ziauddin Barani (1357), *tarikh-i-firozshahi,* trans. & eds. H.M. Elliot & John Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians,* Vol. III (London: Trubner Company, 1871), pp. 93-268; Abul Fazl, *The Ain-i-Akbari,* trans. H. Blochmann & H.S. Jarrett, 3 Vols. (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, Baptist Mission Press, 1873-1907); Abul Fazl (1601), *The Akbarnama,* trans. H. Beveridge, 3 Vols. (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1897-1939); Abdul Qadir Badaoni (1595), *muntakhabut tawarikh,* trans. George S.A. Ranking, Wolseley Haig & W.H. Lowe, Vols. I-III (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1884-1925); Khafi Khan, *muntakhabul lubab,* trans. & eds. H.M. Elliot & John Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians,* Vol. VII (London: Trubner Company, 1877), pp. 207-533.

[25]Ibn Batuta, *The Travels of Ibn Batuta,* trans. & ed. Samuel Lee (London: Oriental Translation Committee, 1829); Thomas Rao, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1619,* W. Foster (ed.), 2 Vols. (Hakluyt Society, 1889); Francois Berneir, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, 1656-68,* trans. Irving Brock, revised & annotated, A. Constable, (London: 1891, reprinted Delhi: 1968).

[26]Zaheeruddin Baber (1483-1531), *Tuzk-e-baberi,* trans & ed. F.G. Talbot, *Memoirs of Baber, Emperor of India, first of the Great Moguls* (London: A.L. Humphreys, 1909); Jahangir (1569-1627), *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; or, Memoirs of Jahangir,* trans. Alexander Rogers, & Henry Beveridge (ed.) (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1909-1914).

[27]Raychaudhuri and Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India,* Vol. I. Also see Irfan Habib, *Economic History of Medieval India 1200-1500* (New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations, 2011); Thapar, *Early India;* Sanjay Subrahmanyam (ed.), *Money and the Market in India, 1100-1700* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[28]For instance, Ronald Inden, *Imagining India* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1990).

economy largely kept artisans marginal (despite varied socio-economic positions).[29] Artisans' socio-economic positions depended on their location, craft, social status of their community and their personal linkages with the elite.[30] The steps taken by the Turkish sultans and the Mughals for consolidating their empire directly affected artisans.[31] These steps included centralization of military power, new methods for revenue assessment and the introduction of the *iqta-jagir* system, *munsabdari* system, building of new towns and cities, introduction of technology (such as spinning and Persian wheels), creation of new water channels. To explain their marginality, I will discuss the socio-economic position of artisans in villages and cities with reference to power structure and trade activities in medieval Punjab.

1.2.1. Artisans in Delhi Sultanate

From the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, artisans in Punjabi villages and cities remained marginal both socially and economically. The desire of the state to increase revenue and trade

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[29]Raychaudhuri and Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, pp. xii-xiii.

[30]Artisans living in urban centres such as Multan, Lahore and Delhi, especially working in the royal *karkhana* (craft establishments, sometimes translated as factories), were well placed and comparatively more independent in economic terms than their colleagues in villages. Similarly, calligraphers were more respected than other craftsmen. Calligraphy was believed to be a noble art because it communicated the word of God or knowledge. Medieval sultans and emperors learned this art and invented a few scripts; for instance, Mughal emperors Baber and Jahangir invented *khatay baberi* and *khatay Jahangeri*, respectively. Among sultans, Muhammad Tughlaq was a good calligrapher. Barani, *tarikh-i-firozshahi*, p. 235. Fazal provides details about calligraphy during Akbar's period. Abul Fazl, *The Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. H. Blochmann & H.S. Jarrett, Vol. I (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, Baptist Mission Press, 1873), pp. 96-106. Weavers who worked with delicate and expensive material (like silk) also enjoyed respect because of their relations with traders and nobility.

[31]Historians see Ghaurid's invasions in the twelfth century as a break from the past. Shahabuddin Ghauri (1162-1206), an Afghan born tribal leader, attacked India in 1175, and occupied Multan and Uchh. In 1186, he captured Lahore, the Ghaznavid capital in India. Ghauri's kingdom spread from Afghanistan to northern India. After his assassination in 1206, he was succeeded by a series of Turkish slave rulers (also known as *khandany ghulama*, family of slaves). Qutbuddin Aibak (r.1206-1210), Ghauri's Turkish slave of Central Asia, was the first ruler of this slave dynasty, they adopted the title of Sultan.

volume, massive royal construction projects, the maintenance of a large army and the village power structure all contributed to the exploitation of artisans.

Largely dominated by agricultural communities and representatives of the sultan or emperor, the social hierarchy in the medieval villages of Punjab served the interests of the state for collecting revenue and suppressing revolts. The *khot* or *muqaddam* (headman), large landholder, and elders, *rais* and *ranas*, of villages, were collectively responsible for consigning all village taxes to the representative of government, *ziauddin*. They also maintained an army which could assist the king on order. The *rais* and *rana* remained adamant to centralization and revenue assessment strategies, and resisted the taxation whenever possible.[32] In the fourteenth century, each *sidi* (a group of hundred villages) was controlled by a local representative, *chaudheri*, and a *muasarrif* (the appointee of the sultan) were responsible for collecting taxes. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *chaudheri* became hereditary *zamindar*.[33] Below the category of village elites were *balahar*, small peasants, who had to pay taxes on cultivation, cattle and houses. They were not allowed to leave the villages without the permission of village elders as it could affect cultivation and revenue.

In this social structure, artisans occupied the lower level. Probably an average population of villages could be between 200 to 300 people,[34] which means that artisans were not only associated with their own profession but also assisted in agricultural activities. Regardless of

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[32]Alauddin Khalji imposed taxes on them and asked them not to collect any tax. Barani, *tarikh-i-firozshahi*, pp. 182-3.
[33]*Zamin* means land and *dar* means occupier. Habib suggests that in the fourteenth century, *zamindar* could be the person who was appointed by the state to represent it in a village or group of villages. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India, 1556-1707* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999, 2nd revised edition), pp. 169-229.
[34]Afif, *tarikh-i-firuzshahi*, p. 289.

their low position, they must have been very important as they catered to the basic needs of villagers such as clothing, housing, pottery, masonry wells and agricultural tools. Artisans depended on agriculture because in exchange for their services, they received in kinds. Perhaps, artisans, like small peasants, were restricted within their own locality unless they were imprisoned by invading armies or compelled to participate in royal projects. As the state collected fifty per cent of the produce against taxes from peasants, artisans had very nominal share in return for their services.

Artisans suffered because of the ambitious policies of various sultans. For instance, Sultan Alauddin Khalji (r.1296-1316), who belonged to the Turkic-Afghan tribe of Khalji, implemented a price control policy by fixing prices of each item and imposed severe punishments for violators.[35] It affected artisans in many ways: they were either forced by village elders to give more taxes or their share of seasonal crops was reduced. By fixing rates, commodities became cheaper, thereby reducing trade. Throughout his rule, prices remained the same and traders and artisans were afraid of increasing prices even during bad harvests. Khalji also took strong action against *dallal* (middleman), which made it even more difficult for the artisans to access the markets.[36] Another sultan, Muhammad Tughlaq (r.1325-1351), shifted his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad (Deogir, now in Andhra Pradesh) to oversee his campaigns in Deccan and forced a large number of artisans from Punjab to migrate to his new capital.[37] Later he abandoned his plans and returned to Delhi, but it caused numerous deaths during the journey, a large number of artisans were dispersed in other parts of India to avoid

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[35]See a list of prices and regulations, Barani, *tarikh-i-firozshahi*, pp.192-6.
[36]Soon after Khalji's death, prices increased, and his successors practically gave up any attempt at controlling prices and wages. Barani, *tarikh-i-firozshahi*, pp. 212-3.
[37]Abdul Qadir Badaoni, *muntakhabut-tawarikh*, trans. George S.A. Ranking, Wolseley Haig & W. H. Lowe, Vol. I (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1884), pp. 301-20.

any such plan in future. Artisans who came back to Delhi lost their markets because of less trading activities and an exodus of the local population.

Artisans' sufferings increased during revolts and invasions. They had to lend help to their village elders in mutinies, which broke out due to high taxes or severe punishments by the state representatives. Medieval accounts give details of a number of mutinies in which artisans were involved. Barani provides details about one such uprising, when peasants (many of them also artisans) ran into jungles to save their lives, Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq killed everyone who came in his way, whole villages were burnt and the rebels were killed and blinded.[38]

Invaders in most cases captured imprisoned artisans for their royal projects (construction, weaving, etc.) either in India or Central Asia.[39] As Flood argues, "the modes of circulation" such as trade, plunder and gifts led to the mobility of artisans and artefacts, subsequently redefined contours of cultures between eighth- and thirteenth-century India.[40] Buddhist rulers wore Turko-Persian dresses, old coins show the inscription of Arabic sacred texts in Sanskrit,

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[38]Barani, *tarikh-i-firozshahi,* pp. 242, 251-52.

[39]The Ghaznavide and Ghurid rulers captured the local artisans, especially weavers, carpenters, potters and masons, and send them to Ghazna, Bukhara and Samarkand either for royal projects or to gift them to the local elites and Sufis. In the eleventh century, Mahmud of Ghazna captivated a large number of locals, during his campaigns in India. He sent most of these prisoners to Ghazna. In the same century, another ruler of the Ghaznavid dynasty, Sultan Ibrahim, famous for constructing mosques and *madaris*, attacked Multan and captured a large number of residents. We can conjecture that the skilled artisans must have been included in this lot, who were ordered to assist in various construction projects in Ghanza and different Central Asian cities. Firoz Tughlaq (1351-88) had almost 10,000 slave artisans. In 1399-1400, Amir Timur captured thousands of skilled artisans from Delhi, some of them were distributed among his collaborators while others were ordered to help in building masjid-e-jami and other structures in his new capital, Samarkand. Sharafuddin Yazdi (1424), *zafarnama* in trans. & eds. H.M. Elliot & John Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians,* Vol. III (London: Trubner Company, 1871), p. 504.

[40]Finbaar B. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Indian artisans worked in Afghanistan and Central Asia, early Turkish mosques in the subcontinent stylistically similar to Jain and Hindu religious buildings.

Administrative and urban centres in pre-Mughal Punjab were Delhi, Multan, and Lahore; for sometime, also Ucch, Dipalpur and Shorkot remained important cities.[41] One of the important trade routes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries connected Delhi to Afghanistan through Multan and Lahore. Markets were set up at a close distance along this route. In the administrative centres, the sultans established *karkhana* (craft establishment, sometimes translated as factory), which provided them with products according to their own taste and status and catered to the needs of the nobility and military. A large number of artisans were hired and trained in these craft establishments.[42] Despite extensive construction works, which substantially increased artisanal and trading activities,[43] we hardly find any evidence that suggests significant improvement in the lives of artisans during the Sultanate period.

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[41]In the twelfth century, Lahore was the administrative capital of Ghaznavide empire, Mongols' attack in 1241 almost ruined the city and Multan emerged as an important cultural and administrative centre. From the thirteen century onwards, Muslim dynasties made Delhi their seat of governance. Availability of water, construction material, food, trade routes and ports were important factors in the development of large cities, which were also preferred by the immigrants.

[42]Alauddin Khalji employed almost 70,000 craftsmen for his construction projects. Muhammad Tughlaq hired four thousand workers (only for weaving and embroidering silk clothes used as "robes of honour" and garments by the king and courtiers), for his royal *karkhana*. Firoz Tughlaq's *jamadarkhana* (cloth weaving establishment) received orders of 600,000 *tankas* in each winder while carpet weavers in his *karkhana* met the orders of 200,000 *tankas* per annum. Raychaudhuri and Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, pp. 80-1.

[43]Firoz Tughlaq's (r. 1351-1388) projects of canals and Sher Shah Suri's (r.1540-1545) road network helped artisans in many ways: canal network increased cultivated area which provided more raw cotton for textile products; Sher Shah established *sirais* (rest houses) along the road networks connecting Punjab with Bengal, and Lahore with Multan. There were at least 1700 *sirais* all contained *bazaars* for food and crafts. It increased trade and provided market to artisans. Afif, *tarikh-i-firuzshahi,* also Firoz Shah, *futuhat-i-firoz shahi,* trans. & eds. H.M. Elliot & John Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians,* Vol.III (London: Trubner Company, 1871), pp. 298-303, 383-8; Abbas Khan Sarwani, *tarikh-i-shershahi,* trans. & eds. H.M. Elliot & John Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians,* Vol. IV (London: Trubner Company, 1872), pp. 410-33.

1.2.2. Artisans in Mughal Punjab

Economic activities significantly increased with the establishment of Mughal rule in the sixteenth century, which determined the construction of new towns and urban centres, such as Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Shahjahanabad; expensive production of crafts for elites; mass production of crafts for export; the development of trade routes, which also increased the mutual dependence of various regions. Behind these developments in Mughal India, according to Raychaudhuri, there was "the uncomplicated desire of a small ruling class for more and more material resources … way beyond doubt the primary condition on which the empire established itself … their economism was simple, straightforward and almost palpable. And there was no containing it until it collapsed under the weight of its own contradictions".[44] The Mughals' economic policy considerably increased craft production; however, the social and economic conditions of the artisans did not improve much.

Mughal emperor, Akbar, introduced the *musabdari* system in the second half of the seventeenth century. Nobles were allotted lands (*jagirs*) and they were expected to maintain a specified number of troops.[45] These *munsabdar* had no local ties, they had the powers to expel local peasants or elites living in villages for centuries and were supposed to achieve the specified targets for tax collection. Consequently, the assessment process of cultivation land and methods of tax collection remained strict and sometimes brutal. The *munsabdari* system increased the exploitation of peasants and artisans.

However, in the Mughal administrative capitals and royal *karkhana*, artisans enjoyed royal patronage. In the sixteenth century, the Mughals declared Lahore one of their three administrative capitals. By that time, two important routes which connected Lahore to

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[44]Raychaudhuri and Habib (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, p. 172.
[45]Fazl, *The Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. 236-7.

Afghanistan were used for trading.[46] Artisans living in the cities along these trade routes (Multan, Lahore and Delhi) benefitted from the expanding markets. The margin of profits in Delhi was higher than other parts of India. If a Mughal noble went to a market in Delhi, he usually purchased articles worth of Rs 100,000 as noted by a European traveller, Francois Bernier (1625-1688).[47] In Delhi, shopkeepers kept products from Iran, Central Asia and China, which included carpets, pottery, arms, decoration pieces, the local artisans competed with them and made good profits out of it.

The Mughal *karkhana* were more extensive establishments as compared to their counterparts in the Sultanate period.[48] They included administrative departments (management, quality control, purchase of raw products), stores and factories for various artisanal products such as pottery, jewellery, arms, carpets, textiles, etc. The *karkhana,* owned by courtiers and nobles, had a professional hierarchy which managed the operations. It included *karkhanadar* (supervisor), *ustad* (artisan-master), *shagird* (disciple or subordinate artisan). The state purchased raw products for manufacturing, while finished products were used for royal gifts, personal use of the emperor and the military, thus were rarely marketed. Bernier's account suggests that *karkhana* relied completely on the state for expenses and did not generate any revenue.[49]

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[46]One trade route linked Lahore with Kabul through Khyber pass, while the other connected Lahore to Qandhar via Multan. Both Afghan routes were connected to Delhi from Lahore by passing through northern Haryana and south of Umballa. Most of the trade was done from Lahore to the Middle East which must have decreased economic activities to some degree in Multan and other towns located on the route of Multan to Delhi. Such strategic locations of cities in Punjab benefitted artisans to a great extend. Till the twentieth century, the route of Multan remained important because of the princely state of Bahawalpur (that emerged in the eighteenth century) which had trade with Central Asia and Delhi.

[47]Berneir, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, 1656-68,* pp. 228-29.

[48]Tripta Verma, *Karkhanas under the Mughals: From Akbar to Aurangzeb, A Study in Economic Development* (Delhi: Pragati, 1994).

[49]Berneir, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, pp. 228-9.

A large number of artisans from Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan immigrated to Punjab as the Mughals hired them on high wages for the royal *karkhana*.[50] The *karkhana* served as a quality stamp for Indian artisanal products. According to Abul Fazl, the quality of carpet weaving in Lahore was far ahead of products in Iran and Central Asia. Mughal emperor Shah Jahan encouraged Persian craftsmen to settle in Punjab and construct gardens, palaces and shrines.[51] Artisans from Punjab and other parts of India also went to Central Asia, either through slave trade or as a royal gift.[52]

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Punjabi artisans suffered because of constant wars between the Sikhs and the Mughals. The Sikhs formed ten percent of the total population, while the Hindus and the Muslims were ten and eighty per cent respectively in the eighteenth

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[50]According to Abul Fazl, wages of artisans were divided into classes according to the craft practiced by them which varied from 2 *dam* to 7 *dam* per day. Coin engravers could earn 20 *dams* and pearl-borer could get 10 *dam* for treating one pearl apart from daily wages. Fazl, *The Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 225.

[51]For instance, Persian craftsmen such as Ustad Issa (mason), Muhammad Effendi (mason), Amanat Khan (calligrapher) assisted in the construction of Taj Mahal. Persian craftsmen were also involved in the construction of the Lahore Fort and the Wazir Khan mosque. One of the court historians provides a clue that Ali Mardan, who a defected Safavid governor and Mughal noble, requested the emperor to allow him to construct a canal in Lahore because he had skilled persons for this task among his "followers", probably Persian artisans. Abdul Hamid Lahori, *badshah nama* in Henry Elliot (ed.), *Shah Jahan* (Lahore: Shaikh Mubarak Ali, 1875), p. 73. Persian calligraphers, such as Mir Ali al-Haravi (1476-1545), Abd al-Samad Shirazi (1518-1600) and Aqa Riza al-Haravi (1580-1608), popularized Persian styles of book illustrations in Mughal India. Priscilla P. Soucek, "Persian Artists in Mughal India", *Muqarnas*, Vol. 4 (1987), pp. 166-181; Fazl, *The Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 107 (for Persian painters in Akbar's court).

[52]During the Mughal period, the artisans migrated from Punjab to Central Asia as well. In the sixteenth century, one local tribe, Ghakkar, was involved in slave trade in exchange for horses. Perhaps they also sent those artisan families to Bukhara and Samarkand, who found it difficult to survive in Punjab due to the village hierarchy and revolts. Towards the late sixteenth century, a renowned Naqshbandi Sufi in Central Asia, Khwaja Sa'id, had a several masons from India, which shows that artisans, too, were sold in the Central Asian markets. These artisans assisted in building mosques and *khanqah*. The Mughal emperors also gifted the skilled artisans to the Central Asian rulers; for instance, in the sixteenth century, Akbar gifted four masons to Abd Allah Khan II, the ruler of Bukhara. In the seventeenth century, Shah Jahan, sent almost hundred slaves (including skilled artisans) to Imam Quli Khan and Nadir Muhammad, who were the Ashterkhanid rulers. Scott C. Levi, "Hindus beyond the Hindu Kush: Indians in the Central Asian Slave Trade", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 12 (3), (November 2002), p. 283.

and nineteenth centuries. To make themselves strong, the Sikhs in villages displaced the existing hierarchies and distributed lands to either Sikhs or Hindus, or those Muslims who forged alliances with them. Artisans associated with manufacturing arms, agricultural tools, and building *havelis,* fortresses and Gurdwaras managed their needs but others, especially weavers, suffered because of the decline in trade. A Delhi-based scholar, Shah Walli-Allah (d. 1762/63), noted that due to the high taxes artisans, peasants and merchants either fled to different parts of India or took arms against the Mughals.[53] Similarly, in the early nineteenth-century Punjab, most of the Sikh leaders who revolted against the Mughals came from the artisan communities such as cobblers and carpenters.[54]

1.2.3. Artisans and Folktales

This discussion of artisans' socio-economic position brings us to our first point concerning the representation of artisans in Punjabi folktales: the artisans' reluctance to help the hero in folktales is an expression of their historical experiences. In the above mentioned story of *Raja Risalu,* artisans' sons tell Risalu, "you are *raja,* you can fight with such things, we are common men, if we live with you, we will be definitely killed". This expression shows artisans' marginality and their hesitation to ally with any person who challenged the ruler. Another episode in the story of *Raja Risalu* was that a goldsmith was imprisoned by Raja Hari Chand for making jewellery for his daughter. This episode can be related to the artisans'

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[53]Shah Walli-Allah, *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha (The Conclusive Argument from God),* trans. Marcia K. Hermansen, (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 131.

[54]Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India,* p. 398 (for agrarian aspects of the revolts against the Mughal empire, see pp. 390-405). Sahai also shows that in eighteenth-century Rajasthan, through continuous protests, artisans forced the state to accept their demands. Nandita Prasad Sahai, *Politics of Patronage and Protest: The State, Society and Artisans in Early Modern Rajasthan* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006).

experiences of being captured and forced to participate in royal projects of different sultans and the Mughal emperors.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the plots in folktales suggest a strong critique of the state, village elders, tribe, caste, and religion. In this period, when the Mughals used "religion" to counter different revolts, such as that of the Sikhs in Punjab, village elders used caste and tribe to distinguish themselves from other communities, and artisans found themselves at the margins exploited by influential groups. By then, the Mughal *karkhana* were suffering from economic decline and vulnerable trade routes, which substantially reduced artisans' living standards. Artisans struggled to keep their status or upgrade it in the village hierarchy, which was severely criticised in the folktales. The expression of a just ruler is mentioned less frequently and the unjust and oppressor becomes more clear in these narratives. Such expressions can be understood in the context of declining Mughal power, when different rulers were struggling to govern Punjab, and plundering and over-taxation were means to manage their expenses. In this situation, the Sufis sympathized with the artisans.

1.3. The Sufi-Artisan Relationship in Punjab (ca. 1300-1800)

How and why did the Sufi-artisan relationship form and continue in pre-colonial Punjab? How did individual Sufis or Sufi institutions, such as *khanqah* and shrines, promote the idea of *baraka,* which established the Sufi *nomos*? Why did the sultans and Mughals patronize Sufis, and this patronage, in turn, attracted artisans towards the Sufis? How did various individuals or groups contest the idea of *baraka,* and how did this contestation affect the Sufi-artisan relationship? Why did the Sufi-artisan relationship become anti-state towards the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, and how can we relate the representation of Sufis as

sympathizers of anti-state elements and artisans in relation to the development of Sufism in pre-colonial Punjab? I will address these questions in this section.

The above questions are important to understand not only the historicity of the Sufi-artisan relationship but also its ideological dimension, which in the nineteenth century was anti-colonial. These questions also help to understand the correlation of Sufi ideas and craft practices, which the colonial administrators could not appreciate, and because of this they tried to replace "superstitious" beliefs with positivist and utilitarian perspectives. I will discuss these aspects elsewhere in the dissertation. Here I seek to answer the above questions with reference to the development of Sufi-artisan relationship in pre-colonial Punjab.

1.3.1. *Baraka*, Sufis and Artisans (ca. 1300-1650)

The institutionalization of Sufism in Punjab from the twelfth century onwards also institutionalized *baraka*, which served Sufis, state and artisans in different ways. For Sufis, institutions such as *khanqah* and shrines were the hub of *baraka*, which anchored Sufi beliefs through various rituals and conversion. For the state, the meaning of *baraka* was that Sufi institutions, because of proselytizing activities, provided faithful Muslim subjects to the state, reduced the chances of revolts, acted as mediators between the state and the locals. For locals including artisans, these mediatory spaces provided opportunities for addressing their social and economic problems through the blessing powers of Sufis. I argue that the association of Sufis and artisans worked at different levels, craft-practicing Sufis headed artisan communities, artisan groups allied themselves with a non-artisan Sufi, *khanqah* or shrine. In each of these relationships, the invocation of *baraka* remained the main factor.

1.3.1.1. Sufis and Artisan Communities

Sufis' adoption of various professions increased their interaction with the state, on the one hand, and with the professional communities, on the other. Surnames of different Sufis suggest their professions; for instance, "*saqati* (huckster); *hallaj* (cotton carder); *nassaj* (weaver); *warraq* (bookseller or copyist); *qawariri* (glassmaker); *haddad* (blacksmith); *banna* (mason)".[55] In medieval Punjab, Sufis became part of artisan communities and used a particular vocabulary related to their professional practices to attract colleagues and followers, who popularized their ideas among different communities.

Incorporation of Sufi ideas in professional practices in an institutionalized form becomes more clear in the studies of medieval professional organizations, *futuwwa*, which developed the Sufi-artisan relationship in various parts of the Muslim world. *Futuwwa*, normally headed by a selected person (in many cases a Sufi), were meant to develop unity among the professional communities, protect their interests and initiate them in mysticism. Sufis stressed this last aspect of developing mystic ideas among professional communities, and defined *futuwwa* by using Sufi vocabulary.[56] For Sufis the association with artisan guilds was a useful means to actively involve these groups in proselytizing activities. Medieval states took interest in such organizations to increase production of crafts, and the involvement of Sufis in

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[55]Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimension of Islam* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), p. 84. The founder of Naqshbandiyya order, Bahauddin Naqshband (d. 1389) was an embroiderer or stone-engraver. Several Sufis were calligraphers; for instance, Abdul Wahhab (d.1606/7) in India, Sulayman Sa'd al-Din Mustakim-zade (1719-1787/8) in Ottoman Turkey were calligraphers. Similarly, Sheikh Bahaal Din Amili (1546/7-1621/2) was an architect in Iran, he designed sundial in the Masjid-i-Shah (Isfahan).

[56]Medieval Sufis defined *futuwwa* in different ways: Hasan Basri explained *futuwwa* as a "battle against one's lower self (*nafs*)", Fuzayl-bin-Ijaz called it "indiscriminate benevolence to others", Junaid described it "generosity and the avoidance of evil". Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. I, pp. 293-4.

these organizations increased religious conversions. The state patronage of *futuwwa* organizations was more common in the Ottoman empire and Persia than in India.[57]

In fourteenth-century India two Sufis of Persian origin, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani (b.1314, perhaps from Hamadan, Iran) and Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari (b.1308), attempted to organize *futuwwa* in Kashmir and Ucch (Punjab), respectively, on the pattern of Iran and Turkey. The main motive behind such attempts was conversion to Islam and expansion of Sufi circles. Hamdani's visit to Srinagar (Kashmir) in 1381 brought to the region many Persian Sufis and artisans (especially weavers, potters and calligraphers), who actively pursued the strategies for conversion. They formed *futuwwa* organizations attracting a large number of local artisans and traders. However, the *futuwwa* in Kashmir were involved in plundering, forceful conversions and attacks on Hindu temples. The violent activities not only annoyed Sultan Qutubuddin (r.1373-89) but also Hamdani and his companions. To explain the objectives of *futuwwa* and its mystical aspects, Hamdani wrote a treatise, *risala-i-futuwwa*,[58] but this intellectual activity had little impact. Discouraged and annoyed, Hamdani left Kashmir on the pretext of performing Hajj. Hamdani's venture of establishing *futuwwa* had a long lasting impact on artisans and traders, who began to associate his *baraka* with their practices (it is especially true for shawl weavers, masons and carpenters) and copied Persian designs in their crafts to revere the country of their Sufi-master.

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[57]In Ottoman empire, many Sufis headed the artisan guilds. The guild of tanners (or perhaps allied crafts) can be cited as example. The office of *akhi baba,* head of the guild, was occupied by mystics; for instance, Sayyid Muhammad bin Muhammad, a Sufi from Damascus, held three offices at a time, *naqib al-ashraf,* the *shaykh mashyikh al-hiraf* (head of crafts) and the in-charge of Rifaiyya Sufi order. Similarly, the head of Khalwatiyya Sufi order in Tripoli was made *akhi baba* in 1687. Charles L. Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarities: Ottoman Aleppo 160-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 255.
[58]For discussion on *risala-i-futuwwa* see Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India,* Vol. II, pp. 293-5.

Unlike in Kashmir, Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari's attempt to establish the *futuwwa* in Ucch (Punjab) enjoyed official patronage as the Sufi had a close relationship with Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq and Firoz Shah Tughlaq.[59] Despite financial advantage, the organization had even less influence on artisans and traders because of two reasons: Bukhari spent most of his time travelling, which kept him at a distance from his followers in the *futuwwa;* he did not have any erudite disciple who could manage and organize them, but probably the main reason was Bukhari's extremism. He encouraged his followers to force the locals to accept Islam, perhaps his brother, Sadruddin was involved in forceful conversions, as his nickname, Raju Qattal ("slayer"), suggests.[60] Such approach created a gulf between Bukhari, his followers and non-Muslims living in Punjab, resulting in the failure of the *futuwwa* organization.

The failure of establishing missionary *futuwwa* in Punjab did not detach artisans from Sufis. Some practicing Sufi artisans developed a cult around themselves. For instance, Sheikh Ali Muttaqi (b.1480/81), who was born in Jaunpur, was a disciple of a Multani Sufi, Sheikh Husamud Din, cultivator by profession. Muttaqi earned his livelihood by scribing books. He wandered around India and also visited Mecca and Diya Bakr (eastern Turkey), collected rare manuscripts (especially from Arabian peninsula), and made copies for selling. Through scribing he also initiated his disciples in mysticism. First, he asked them to copy various books on Sufism by using an ink which he specially prepared for this purpose. After one year, Ali used to instruct them about meditation, *dhikr* (remembrance of God) and other mystical

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[59]Amina M. Steinfels, "The Travels and Teachings of Sayyid Jalal al-din Husayn Bukhari (1308-1384)" (New Haven, CT: Yale University, unpublished PhD dissertation, 2003).
[60]For various explanations of "Qattal", see Masood Hasan Shahab, *awliya-e-bahawalpur* (Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 1984), pp. 192-5.

exercises.[61] Why did he use specially prepared ink for his disciples? In Sufism anything associated with the Sufi-master had *baraka.* If disciples used any such object (dress/*kharqa,* food, book, or ink), they would be able to inherit the qualities or blessings of their Sufi-master. Writing with an ink prepared by the Sufi-master was meant not only to beautify the script but also to understand the "real meanings" of written words as intended by the author. Ali Muttaqi taught the art of copying as an exercise of mysticism apart from means of earning. This method of teaching is the tradition of a famous Persian Sufi, Hussain bin Mansur Hallaj (d.922), who used the vocabulary of his audience (either traders, artisans, philosophers or kings) to communicate his message.[62]

Another such example is Sheikh Husain Ahmad Chishti (d. 1587-88), who was an excellent calligrapher. Sheikh Husain was trained in mysticism by a Punjabi Sufi, Sheikh Aman from Panipat. Husain either supervised or himself completed all the calligraphic work at the façade of the *buland darwaza* (high door) of semi octagonal in plan, at Fatehpur Sikri.[63] The inscriptions on the gate describe mystical teachings; for instance, one Persian inscription on the main gate is Jesus' quote: "The world is a Bridge, pass over it, but build no houses upon it. He who hopes for a day, may hope for eternity; but the World endures but an hour. Spend it in prayer for the rest is unseen". We can assume that he instructed many calligraphers not only about inscriptions, but also their mystical interpretations.

Similarly, a Chishti Sufi, Sheikh Bahauddin (d.1628), headed a group of carpenters. He invented many musical instruments; the *saz-khayal,* which was like an inkwell with many

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[61]Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India,* Vol. II, pp. 321-3.
[62]Massignon, *The Passion of al-Hallaj,* pp. 74-9, 140-2.
[63]S.A.A. Rizvi and V.J.A. Flynn, *Fathpur-Sikri* (Bombay: Taraporevala, 1975), p. 86.

strings, was his most popular invention.[64] He personally looked after the carpenters commissioned to make musical instruments, which involved selection of wood from forests, designing of instruments and overseeing the construction.[65] Chishti Sufis believed the state of ecstasy (*haal*) could only be achieved through *sama* (listening to music) rather than *dhikr* or regular prayers (*salat*). If the *Quran* can open new secrets of understanding God, music can also do so. So making musical instruments, playing them, writing songs about God, the prophets and Sufis is a mystical exercise. Sheikh Bahauddin must have told his fellow carpenters about the importance of music in Sufism. They were also invited in the *mahafil* of *sama* for invoking *baraka*. Here, the making of musical instrument and enjoying it become part of the Sufi *nomos* and the group of carpenters were made conscious about their craft practices and associated Sufi ideas.

Artisans, who were depressed, marginal and subjugated in social and economic terms, associated themselves with a non-artisan Sufi for invoking *baraka*. One such example is Sheikh Salim Chishti (1479/80-1572), who was a mystic guide of stone-cutters and builders. His parents first migrated from Ludhiana to Delhi and then to Fatehpur Sikri. Here the Sheikh developed a cult among stone-cutters, who were commissioned to collect stones for the Agra fort. When the emperor Akbar ordered to build a city on the hills of Sikri, Sheikh Salim being spiritual guide of the emperor, personally supervised the construction of a beautiful mosque and the complex of his *khanqah*.[66] Salim Chishti did not know about stone cutting and architecture, but his presence among the artisans was believed to be a source of *baraka;* in addition to their own work they built a small mosque to show their reverence to the Sheikh.

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[64]Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. I, p. 217.
[65]Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. II, p. 279.
[66]Rizvi and Flynn, *Fathpur-Sikri*.

Similarly, Shah Sulayman (d.1654-5) of the Qadriyya order had a close association with a group of Muslim cobblers and other deprived communities. He was born to a villager in Bhalwal near modern Sargodha district (Punjab). The Shah faced tough resistance because of his association with these communities,[67] while the artisans thought his presence essential for invoking *baraka* which could protect them from the elites. In other words, Sufis who were not practicing craftsmen were also an important source of *baraka* for artisans. Sometimes, this relationship was not appreciated by the local elites, but such social allegiance made Sufis even more popular among the artisans vis-à-vis the elites.

1.3.1.2. Sufi *khanqahs* and Artisans

In a *khanqah,* a Sufi lived along with his followers and journeymen, and discussed various aspects of Islamic mysticism. Medieval *khanqah* were often associated with mosque, school (*madrassa*) and shrine (*dargah*).[68] *Khanqah* began to emerge from the eleventh century onwards, when Sufi communities started disseminating their ideas among common people. The emergence of such institutions in the medieval world was phenomenal because it influenced temporal authorities and other social relationships.

Scholars of Sufism in Egypt, the Ottoman Empire and the subcontinent, explain various aspects of the *khanqah,* such as the interaction of people with Sufis, observance of various rituals, and social, artistic and architectural aspects of the buildings.[69] Yet there is hardly any

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[67]Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India,* Vol. II, p. 67.

[68]Sometimes other terms such as *tekke* or *zawiyya,* are also used for *khanqah* but scholars define these terms separately.

[69]Leonor E. Fernandes, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khanqah* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1988); Raymond Lifchez (ed.), *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Kaliq Ahmad Nizami, *tarikh-e-mashaik-e-chisht* (Lahore: Mushtaq Book Corner, n.d.). For architectural aspects in post-partition Punjab, see Ghafer Shahzad, *punjab main khanqahi culture* (Lahore: Sung-e-Meel Publications,

work which explains how artisans were engaged by Sufis in the *khanqah*. By using medieval literature on Sufism, which provides clues about social life and debates taking place in *khanqah,* I will reconstruct the Sufi-artisan relationship in the *khanqah* of medieval Punjab.[70]

Several *khanqah* in Punjab were located along the trade routes outside the cities. They served two purposes: first, such spaces would dispense of the caste-oriented social structures of villages and cities, hence could easily appeal to the marginal communities such as artisans and peasants; second, the Sufis could attract caravans travelling along the trade routes, thereby increasing their financial resources and also disseminating Sufi ideas. Over time, these *khanqah* drew new settlers.[71] Numerous *khanqah* were also established within the cities, which proved to be advantageous for Sufis who could interact with nobility, traders and royal artisans, increasing their influence and financial resources. Sufi of Chishtiyya and Suharwardiyya orders engaged artisans in different ways at their respective *khanqah*.

Initially, the Chishti *khanqah* were simple buildings made of mud walls with thatched roofs. Artisans along with common people were engaged in these constructions and maintenance, especially after monsoons.[72] Under the generous patronage of the Mughals, the Chishti

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2009); Ghafer Shahzad, *tameer-o-tusih, Baba Farid Ganjh Shakir* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2009); Naresh, *boldiaan amartaan: charrhde Punjab diaan sufi dargahvaa, saadh deryaan baaghaan te qileaan da haal* (Lahore: Suchet Kitab Ghar, 2005).

[70]Shahabuddin Suharwardi, *awarif-ul-marif,* trans. Shams Berailvi (Lahore: Ghulam Rasool, 1998), pp. 256-72, 295-304; Ali Hajweri, *khashful majub,* trans. Fazaluddin Gohar (Lahore: Zia-ul-Quran Publications, 2010).

[71]For instance, Sheikh Fariduddin (1173-1266)'s *khanqah* was outside the city of Ajodhan, over time it attracted new settlers and became at the centre of the city (now called Pakpatten). Similarly, Suharwardi *khanqah* in Multan also became the centre of the city.

[72]These early *khanqah* had a few private cells, a large hall for meditation and living space for journeymen. Fariduddin's *khanqah* in Ajodhan had one large hall with a private cell for meditation. Anna Suvorova, *Muslim Saints of South Asia, The Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), pp. 93-6. For changes over time, see Shahzad, *tameer-o-tusih.* Afterwards, the number of private cells increased and courtyard and kitchen became important feature of the structure, as in the case of Sheikh Nizamuddin Awylia (1238-1325)'s *khanqah* in Delhi.

khanqah transformed into vast complexes and acquired decorative features.[73] A large number of artisans were involved in such projects, which brought them closer to Sufi tradition.

Artisans, who lived in separate *muhalla* (residential area) and were socially marginal, regularly visited the Chishti *khanqah,* where Sufis treated them equally, and servants looked after them. Sufis provided food and shelter to the artisans who were moving from one place to another to find employment avoiding the clutches of *zamindars* or *jagirdars,* or those who were escaped convicts. Sufis' act of giving protection to "wanted persons" usually annoyed the village elites. Medieval kings did not intervene to recapture their prisoners from the *khanqah,* for fear of the curse of the Sufis, which increased the reverence Sufis' enjoyed among the local communities.[74]

In *khanqah,* the visitors believed that the presence of the Sufi-master could invoke *baraka.* God was believed to speak through Sufis, so taking their advice was a guarantee of blessing. Because of such understanding, medieval artisans like other people sought advice from Sufi masters regarding their personal life (migration, name of a new-born, marriage matters, etc.) and profession (change of profession, undertaking a new assignment, etc.). Sufis also distributed *taweez* (amulets and talisman) for invoking *baraka*. A Sufi master's interaction with his followers was marked by the use of a particular vocabulary attuned to the

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[73]Sheikh Saleem's *khanqah* and shrine can be cited as examples.

[74]Two examples can be cited here. If any fugitive came in the *khanqah* of a fourteenth-century Chishti Sufi, Sheikh Alauddin, he was never handed over to the officials. Between Ajodhan to Dipalpur and in the mountainous region adjacent to Kashmir, artisan communities erected shrines and monuments to venerate him. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, who was his great devotee, constructed a magnificent tomb for him in Pakpatten and allotted hundreds of villages to the decedents of the Sheikh, which probably helped in expanding his cult among the locals in Punjab. Suvorova, *Muslim Saints of South Asia,* p. 102. Another example is Sayyid Shah Balaul (d.1636-37). He had two secretaries in his *khanqah* in Lahore, to write letters to the officials for helping artisans and other communities.

background of his audience, which helped communicating his message to the local artisan communities.[75]

In a *khanqah,* artisans were also initiated in mysticism through *bayyath* (a pledge of allegiance to Sufi teachings), followed by voluntary participation in *dhikr* (literally "recollection" or "remembrance") to create a sense of nearness to Sufi masters, or the prophet and to experience the divine presence.[76] Artisans, who regularly visited *khanqah,* participated in these exercises, which were supervised by senior fellows. Sufis used to teach them different pious formulae for recitation at their workplace or at home. Well into the twentieth century, artisans in Punjab inscribed these formulae (the *kalmia,* verses or names of God) on their crafts.

Along with *dhikr,* Sufis also followed the tradition of *sama* (literally meaning listening, or Sufi music) as "a method of worship" and "a means of spiritual advancement".[77] Two aspects of *sama* helped Sufis to engage artisans: first, the making of musical instrument, which I have

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[75]Sufis' interaction with philosophers and with artisans was at a different level. Hagiographic literature represents a wide range of discussion in various *khanqah.* Examples of Baba Farid and Shah Hussain can be cited here. At Fariduddin's *khanqah* in Ajodhan, debates concerning spiritualism among Hindu Yogis, the impact of the timing of sexual intercourse on the mind of child, and problems in the initiation of Sufism were discussed. This tradition was also present among other Sufi *taruq;* for instance, a renowned Qadri Sufi in Lahore, Madho Lal Hussain (1539-1593) from a weaver's family, used frequent references to weaving in his poetry to communicate his mystical message.

[76]For the details of Chishti Sufis' practices, see Carl W. Ernst and Bruce B. Lawrence, *Sufi Martyrs of Love: The Chishti Order in South Asia and Beyond* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2002), pp. 26-46. For an overview of Sufi's practices of *zikr,* see Muhammad Tahir-ul Qadiri, *salook-o-tasawwuf ka amli dastoor* (Lahore: Minhajul Quran Publications, 2009 [1996]).

[77]Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Sound, Context and Meaning in Qawwali* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. xvii. For Hajweri, *sama* is a "divine message which stirs the heart to seek God" but this message in musical tunes had to be carefully communicated in assemblies under the guidance of a Sufi master. The *qawaal* ('the one who says' or 'the singer of a verbal message') who had the understanding and experience of singing in several mystical gatherings was considered ideal for such performance. Hajweri, *khashful majub,* pp. 522-39, 547-8. Muhammad al-Tusi and Hammad al-Gazzali put forward three conditions for *sama,* right time, place and company. For such *adab,* see Leonard Lewisohn, "The Sacred Music of Islam: Sama in the Persian Sufi Tradition", *British Journal of Ethnomusicology,* Vol. 6 (1997), pp. 8-15.

discussed above; second, the content of poetry, which artisans listened to in these parties for invoking love for the Sufi master, religion, and *baraka*. The poetry was recited in Arabic, Persian or local dialects. Sufis or performers (musicians) used to explain the meanings, which must have developed the understanding of artisans about Sufi ideas. Along with others, artisans performed Sufi dance (called *dhamal* in the Punjabi and whirling in the Persian Sufi traditions) on the occasion which led to the experience of ecstasy or *haal*. In Sufi philosophy, the whole universe is in *haal* due to the divine presence.[78] Medieval painters showed their reverence for this tradition by making paintings of such gatherings.[79]

In Multan and Ucch, Suharwardiyya Sufis engaged artisans to build their *khanqah* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Royal artisans also took part in the constructions, which were highly decorative and extensive structures with large meeting places, private living rooms and food storage houses. For routine management and maintenance, Sufis employed potters, carpet-weavers, weavers, tailors, and masons. Because of this interaction many artisans were initiated in mysticism.[80]

Unlike Chishti Sufis, the Suharwardi Sufis in Multan did not allow artisans and common people to sit in the discussion halls, which were reserved for state dignitaries, traders and the Sufis themselves.[81] Similarly, they also discouraged *sama* assemblies, and the distribution of

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[78]Annemarie Schimmel, "Mystical Poetry in Islam: The Case of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi", *Religion & Literature*, Vol. 20 (1), (Spring, 1988), The Literature of Islam, p. 79.
[79]For instances, see Walter Denny, **"**Music and Musicians in Islamic Art", *Asian Music*, Vol. 17 (1), (Autumn - Winter, 1985), pp. 37-68.
[80]For instance, famous Multani Sufi, Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya had a number of artisan followers, such as Ahmad Naharwani (weaver), Shahi Muy Tab (hair robe maker), and Hasan Afghan. The Sufi said: "If tomorrow they ask me to bring forward one person from my household (*dargah*) as a representative to face judgment on behalf of all the others, I would select Hasan Afghan". Suvorova, *Muslim Saints of South Asia*, p. 148.
[81]Qazi Javed, *punjab key sufi danishwer* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2010), pp. 66-79.

taweez.[82] However, the distribution of food and construction projects kept such places important for local artisans. Foreign visitors to such places also became a source of income for artisans who associated their economic prosperity and protection against the invading Mongol armies with the *baraka* of Suharwardi Sufis.

1.3.1.3. *Baraka* in Exchange for Patronage

The royal patronage helped in developing the Sufi-artisan relationship in medieval Punjab. To elucidate the royal patronage of Sufis, I will extend Omid Safi's argument, which engages both mystical aspects of *baraka* and its material benefits. Safi studies "the ways in which the authority and charisma of these 'friends of God' is appropriated by the Saljuq legitimizing discourse", [83] and proposes that Sufis extended their *baraka* to Saljuq emperors in exchange for the royal patronage.

In the medieval Indian theories of kingship, Sufis had an important place. Kings of the Delhi Sultanate adopted the title of "sultan", which is an Arabic word meaning authority or power. From the tenth century onwards, its meaning changed into "beholder of an authority" and it was used for a person who was given the authority by a caliph of Islam, the head of religious and political authority in Muslim lands. "Sultan" being the representative of the caliph had the responsibility of enforcing religion by using political authority. With a few exceptions, all sultans followed this theory and acquired *khilafatnama* (a letter of authority) from the Caliph

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[82]For the practices of *dhikr* among Suharwardi Sufis, see a medieval text, Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya, *al-auraad,* trans. Muhammad Mian Siddiqi (Lahore: Tasawwaf Foundation, 1999). Also see, Qamar-ul-Huda, *Striving for Divine Union: Spiritual Exercises for Suhrawardi Sufis* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

[83]Omid Safi, *The Politics of Knowledge in Premodern Islam: Negotiating Ideology and Religious Inquiry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), p. 126.

in Baghdad.[84] Patronizing religious communities (*ulema* and Sufis) was one of their important obligations, at the same time, sultans believed that the Sufis' *baraka* enabled them to win wars, protected them from enemies, and resolved their personal problems.

The sultans patronized mainly Suharwardiyya Sufis who actively pursued proselytizing activities and had strong linkages with Central Asia and Persia.[85] Sometimes, this patronage was in the form of an appointment to a ceremonial position, such as Sheikhul Islam, who was supposed to advice sultan on religious matters, if requested. Sheikhul Islam was eligible for stipend, land grants and *futuh* (gifts). Several Sufis enjoyed this position, which helped them to petition the rulers for their favourites.[86] Sometimes, when a Sufi visited a king, the latter believed it to be a sign of *baraka* and would give away a lot of gifts.[87] Suharwardiyya Sufis established their extensive *khanqah* in this manner and distributed gifts to their poor followers. They became so rich that on a few occasions local governors borrowed money and food from them. Delhi sultans also believed *baraka* to be a cure to revolts and invasions, any king who did not respect Sufis was believed to be in danger.[88]

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[84]A few sultans, such as Balban and Muhammad Tughlaq, propounded their own Kingship theories, and tried to separate the religion from the state.

[85]For various perspectives on the Sufis' role in converting Hindus between the twelfth and eighteenth centuries, see Raziuddin Aquil (ed.), *Sufism and Society in Medieval India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[86]Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish appointed Bahauddin Zakariya as Sheikhul Islam. When Mongols invaded Multan in 1247, Zakariya convinced them to retreat through Malik Shamsuddin, a Muslim notable in the invading army. Suvorova, *Muslim Saints of South Asia*, pp. 142, 146. Muhammad bin Tughlaq appointed Sayyid Jalaluddin as Sheikhul Islam. He was also granted control of a *khanqah* in Siwistan (Sehwan) which was financially supported by the income of several nearby villages. Local representatives of the state also requested him for help in collecting taxes. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India,* Vol. I, p. 279.

[87]Shah Rukn-e-Alam enjoyed great respect among the ruling elites. Twice he visited Delhi to meet Sultan Alauddin, each time the sultan gave 200,000 *tankas* on his arrival and 500,000 *tankas* when the Sheikh returned to Multan. The Sheikh distributed this amount among the locals in Delhi. Ibid., p. 211.

[88]Locals in Multan believed that due to the *baraka* of Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, the city was saved from the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century. Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak Kirmani,

The Mughals declared themselves *badshah* (king or monarch), who did not require *khilafatnama* from the caliph. Abul Fazl, court-writer of the Mughal emperor Akbar, describes the king as a representative of God, superior to all temporal and religious authorities.[89] Implicitly, it was not the king's obligation to patronize the religious authorities. However, the Mughals patronized Sufis because they (the Mughals) were different from the locals in ethnicity, religion, culture and historical experiences, so Sufis could act as intermediaries between them and the locals. Apart from such political considerations, the Mughals strongly believed in *baraka* for conquests and personal well being.[90]

The Mughals patronized Sufis in a number of ways which involved *milk* or *awqaf* (land grants), *inams* or *madad-i-mash* (grant of revenue of particular villages), and *wazifah* or stipend in the form of cash from the treasury. Kozlowski suggests that *madad-i-maash* enabled medieval kingdoms in India to encourage settlement of Sufis from Khorasan, Central Asia and Arabia, who came to India because of Mongol invasions.[91] The royal grants to Sufis were very nominal as compared with the volume of trade and expenditure (almost five

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siyar-ul-auliya, trans. Ghulam Ahmad Biryan (Lahore: Mushtaq Book Corner, n.d.), pp. 108-9. Similarly, the government officials and locals requested Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya to protect them from the Mongols. In 1309/10, Sultan Alauddin Khaliji asked Sheikh Nizamuddin to use his blessing powers for the conquest of the fort of Warangal, in the Kakatiya kingdom of Telingana. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq made the same request to Sheikh Ruknuddin on his way to Multan to crush a revolt. After the victory, the sultan gave one hundred villages to the Sufi. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India,* Vol. I, pp. 160, 213. Devotees of Sheikh Nizamuddin described the assassination of Sultan Qitbuddin Mubarak Shah (r.1316-20) due to the curse of the Sufi. Sufis and their followers perceived the decline of Jalaluddin Khaliji's rule to the killing of a Sufi, Sidi Maula. Ibid., pp. 160-161, 309. Also see the "images of Sufis in the lives of Sultans" in Blain H. Auer, *Symbols of Authority in Medieval Islam: History, Religion, and Muslim Legitimacy in the Delhi Sultanate* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), pp. 77-103. In Mughal India, Sufi communities believed the governor of Lahore was murdered due to his support for the demolition of a tomb of Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Khwaja Khawand Mahmud (b.1557). Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India,* Vol. II, p. 184.

[89]Abul Fazl, *The Akbarnama,* trans. H Beveridge, Vol. I (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1897), pp. 1-140.

[90]Akbar requested Sheikh Budh, son of a Sufi, Muhammad Guas, to remain in his army for *baraka*. Mughal emperors, such as Akbar, Shah Jahan and Farrukh Sayeer requested various Sufis to pray for their male heir.

[91]Gregory C Kozlowski, "Imperial Authority, Benefactions and Endowments (Awqaf) in Mughal India", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient,* Vol. 38, No. 3 (1995), p. 361.

percent of the state revenue), but these grants signified the role of Sufis in the state structure and enhanced their stature socially.[92] This is not to suggest that all Sufis accepted gifts from the emperors and nobles; there were many who refused to accept any gift.[93] Apart from kings, artisan and merchant communities also patronized Sufis.

Royal patronage of shrines and mosques under the sultans and the Mughals helped in developing the Sufi-artisan relationship. Those artisans who were involved in building shrines began to respect Sufi ideas due to their interaction with *khalifa* (mystical successor of the Sufi) or *sajjada nashin* (custodian of the shrines). Medieval artisans believed that the *baraka* of a Sufi survived even after his death. Some others preached that being the friend of God (*awliya*), Sufis could not die (*pir zinda hay,* "Pir/Sufi is alive"), and through prayers they could be contacted. This belief led to the veneration of Sufi shrines.[94] It provided artisans with economic opportunities; they were hired for the construction and maintenance of shrines, and participated in Sufi festivals to sell their crafts. Punjabi artisans attributed such economic opportunities to *baraka*.

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[92]Mughal Sadrus Sadur, Miran Sadr-i-Jahan, frequently took advice from a Naqshbandiyya Sufi, Khwaja Muhammad Baqi Billah Berang (b.1563-64 or 1564-65), on the distribution of land grants and *futuh*. Once, Billah recommended Sheikh Ahmad Sirhandi (d.1624) for some stipend. Aurangzeb allotted several villages as *madad-i-maash* to a Shattari Sufi, Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, who spent this amount in building a magnificent mosque in Lahore.

[93]Baba Farid rejected the offer of villages by Ulugh Khan (r. 1266-87). After the death of Sheikh Muhammad Ghaus, his son and spiritual successor, Sheikh Budh Abdullah, refused Akbar's grant for building a tomb and managed whole expenses from *madad-i-maash* and other sources. In seventeenth-century Lahore, Sheikh Tahir declined the grant from the government and managed his livelihood from scribing religious books. For other examples, see Nizami, *tarikh-e-mashaik-e-chisht*, pp. 192, 288-91. Anjum also suggests that the Chishti Sufis in India began to defiant the state authority by rejecting the government services, land grants and donations. See for this aspect, Tanvir Anjum, *Chishti Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi, 1190-1400: From Restrained Indifference to Calculated Defiance* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[94]For religious festivals and shrine venerations in medieval Shahjahanabad, see Stephen P. Blake, *Shahjahanabad, The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639-1739* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002 [1991]), pp. 151-3.

1.3.2. Contesting *Baraka*: The Crumbling Relation of Sufis and Artisans (ca. 1650-1800)

Historians interpret seventeenth- and eighteenth-century India in various terms. V.A. Smith and Irfan Habib view it as a period of decline, revolts, plundering, and religious bigotry because of the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb Alamgir's (r. 1658-1707) religious policy, increasing influence of the British East India Company (EIC), and internal political instability.[95] Others overlook the troubled aspects of social and economic life and argue that disintegration of the Mughal empire was accompanied by an increase in trading activities and the emergence of a network of traders with local and immigrant communities.[96] Following Habib's argument, I propose that due to the disintegration of the Mughal empire, regional revolts, and the emergence of *ulema* as an influential factor in the state structure, the idea of *baraka* was contested, and the Sufis became critical of the state policies.

From the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, two important developments challenged the position of Sufis and the collective belief in *baraka*. First, Aurangzeb started patronizing some orthodox *ulema* (especially those of Farangi Mahall) due to political considerations and personal understanding of Islam.[97] Second, the rational sciences developed within the Islamic

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[95]Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 396-405. V.A. Smith called Maratha rule "Robber State". V.A. Smith (additions by Perceval Spear), *Oxford History of India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 575-6.

[96]C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen, and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 1-35; Frank Perlin, "State formation Re-considered", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 19 (3), (1985), pp. 415-80; Muzaffer Alam, *The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India: Awadh and the Punjab, 1707-1748* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986).

[97]When Aurangzeb came into power he faced acute problems. He revolted against his father (Shah Jahan) killed his own brothers which was a stigma on his rule; he faced stiff resistance from Marahathas in Maharashtara and Shia in Deccan, and the Sikhs in Punjab. Aurangzeb spent almost forty years out of his capital, Delhi, in managing these rebellions. To counter such problems, he forged an alliance with orthodox *ulema* and Sufis along with local *zamindar* to enforce *sharia*. The emperor also codified the religious law, enforced *jizya* (tax on non-Muslims) in 1679, and demolished temples (in 1669, especially in Varanasi and Mathura). Unlike his predecessors who supported Chishtiyya and Qadriyya Sufis, Aurangzeb was more close to Naqshbandiyya Sufis, who traced their

tradition strongly disputed many Sufi rituals such as shrine pilgrimage, relics of Sufis (clothes, stick, etc.), *sama* assemblies to invoke *baraka*. [98] However, largely the Mughal state's policy towards Sufis' patronage did not change.[99]

Due to constant wars, plundering and decreased patronage, the *khanqah* network in Punjab became weak and the Sufis could not provide artisans socio-economic protection like before as the former's influence substantially reduced. However, several Sufis began to assert their independence from state patronage. For instance, Sufi poets such as Bulleh Shah (1680-1758) and Waris Shah (1722-1798) challenged the misuse of religion by *Qazis*, caste-based traditions by village elites and state oppression by the Mughal administration. They had no *khanqah* of their own yet their poetry was recited in many *khanqah*, gatherings and mosques. It is here that we see a visible divide of those *Ulema* who believed in the literal interpretation of religious texts and scholars of Sufi persuasions. Bulleh Shah believed that it was not important who professes religion or God openly but one must uphold justice and truth.[100] Waris Shah's famous *Heer Ranjha* followed a similar view. He criticized the corruption, maltreatment to the poor in the name of religion and caste, and argued to embrace religion

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origin to Central Asia and were largely supported by immigrant communities. Contemporary historians question to what extent Aurangzeb's steps were religiously motivated and how effective they were. Whatever the case may be, it is clear that the emperor used religion and forged an alliance with orthodox religious groups. Nile Green highlights how various Sufis came from the Middle East and Central Asia and enjoyed the Mughal's patronage, popularized the Baghdadian and Central Asian Sufi ideas in Deccan from the seventeenth century onwards. See Nile Green, *Indian Sufism since the Seventeenth Century: Saint, Books and Empires in the Muslim Deccan* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

[98]Orthodox *ulema* demanded to stop the veneration of Sufi shrines, criticized music, presence of non-Muslims at such places, and pilgrimage of shrines. Established by a religious scholar, Shah Abd al-Rahim Dihlawi (d.1718), Madrasah Rahimiyya or Delhi school, in the vicinity of Shahjahanabad, was foremost in disseminating such ideas. Dihlawi's sone, Shah Walli-Allah (d.1762), attempted to reconcile different views within the Islamic tradition by using arguments from philosophy, theology and mysticism in his work, *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha*.

[99]For instance, Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi (d.1729), Mirza Mazher Jaan-e-Janaan (1699-1781) and Fakhr al-Din (1715-1785) developed a cult among the Delhites and enjoyed royal patronage.

[100]"Oh Bulla, it is immaterial if you openly profess God or not. However, the important thing is that you should be truthful in a given situation". Bulleh Shah, *kalam hazrat bulleh shah* (Lahore: Ziaul Quran, reprinted).

not in a literal sense; rather by accepting the message of love and respect.[101] Artisans and traders, who were establishing their links with Europeans, quickly picked these ideas of social equality, individualism, and pluralism (in terms of religion, ethnicity and caste). The popularity of such ideas reflected the desire of artisans for social and economic stability which was threatened by revolts and social and religious hierarchies.

In summary, the period between 1650 and 1800 was characterized by the presence of contesting ideas in Punjab. One favoured the imposition of homogenous culture by following strict Islamic principles. *Qazis*, who were responsible for implementing *sharia*, some orthodox *Ulema* and Sufis in alliance with the nobility, and local *zamindar* supported this view. They associated the idea of homogenous culture with state centralization and expected emperors to assert themselves as Islamic rulers vis-à-vis non-Muslim rebels. Sufis of Qadriyya and Chishtiyya orientation contested these views and insisted on following local cultural values. They did not challenge the religion; in fact, they interpreted it in a pluralistic way to reconcile the relationship of Muslims with non-Muslims, and to protect the social and economic interests of artisans and traders.

1.3.3. Sufis in Punjabi Folktales

This discussion of the socio-economic position of Sufis and their patronage by kings, nobility and others, provide important clues to understanding the representation of Sufis in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Punjabi folktales. Our questions are: Why is it that Sufis

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[101]See discussion on Waris Shah's *Heer* see Abbas Jalalpuri, *maqalat-e-waris shah* (Lahore: Rohtas Books, 1989). For the poetry of Waris Shah, see Aseer Abid, *qisa heer waris shah* (Lahore: Punjab Institute of Language and Culture, 2008).

are identified with the hero, artisans and marginalized communities in folktales? And why are Sufis represented as marginalized individuals with extraordinary blessing powers (*baraka*)?

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Indian subcontinent, especially Punjab, was politically unstable. Revolts, wars, plundering and opportunist alliances were part of the new political culture. The use of religion, caste, tribe, and region for grabbing power and forming coalitions was based on power politics rather than ideologies. Conflicts, plundering, drying resources of the state, emergence of politically influential religious scholars, who were critical of Sufism, marginalized Sufis in social and political domains to some degree. Expressions of such conditions are clear in Punjabi folktales in many ways: Sufi, *fakir* or *jogi* are always shown to lay in poverty and to beg for their livelihood. But they also help those who fight against the established norms and state. In other words, Sufis are represented as an opposite category to *qazi* (judge), king and *chaudheri*, who managed their policies to protect their political and economic interests by exploiting existing traditions (religion, caste). This subtext is so prominent in eighteenth-century Punjabi folktales that we seldom find any reference to a "just" ruler.

Sufis provided social protection and financial support to artisans. Sufis' world view incorporated the social and material well-being of their followers. Along with helping artisans, Sufis remained apolitical (especially Chishti Sufis), an attitude which helped them to win concessions for artisans from the nobility and kings. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Punjabi artisans believed that the Sufis' poverty was symbolic because they had blessing powers which could address artisans' problems. Artisans' dependence on Sufis in Punjabi folktales reflects the former's desire to overcome their problems and also suggests a sentiment of protest and resistance against the socio-economic system in alliance with Sufis.

1.4. Conclusion

By studying folktales as historical sources, I propose that the Sufi-artisan relationship in medieval Punjab (1300 to 1800) developed over time. Opacities in Punjabi folklore provide clues about the medieval artisanal world. In this chapter, I dealt with three opacities: the reluctance of artisans, the dependence of various characters on the miracles of Sufis, and the alliance of the hero and artisans with Sufis against the state or established norms.

Artisans in medieval Punjab were marginalized and exploited by local elites and the state. The conditions of village artisans were perhaps more depressing than urban artisans. But during invasions and revolts, both village and urban artisans suffered equally. They were captured, forced to work on royal projects or even killed. Despite the increase in agricultural production, the introduction of technology, the increase in the volume of trade, artisans were hardly able to live close to subsistence level, except artisans working within the royal craft establishment (*karkhana*). From 1650 to 1800, wars and revolts in Punjab increased economic instability, seriously affecting the royal patronage of artisans. Artisans were forced to work for those who had killed their companions. It is in this context that the characters of artisans in Punjabi folktales express reluctance or fear to rise against the state.

The second opacity which I have discussed in this chapter is the dependence of different characters (including artisans) on Sufis and their miraculous powers, which determine the course of events in folktales. Such opacities lead us to engage Sufi *nomos* and its articulation in Punjabi society. The acceptance and reverence of Sufis among the locals was due to their *baraka*. The belief in *baraka* associated artisans more closely with Sufi institutions. In *khanqah*, they were not only able to obtain food and shelter, but also through the observance of different rituals they were initiated in mysticism.

Royal patronage of Sufis significantly reduced after 1650 and within a period of 150 years, the Sufis became marginalized socially and politically. Such marginality and contestations of *baraka* did not detach artisans from Sufis, who formed alliances with the former to resist the local elites and invading armies, as reflected in Punjabi folktales. In other words, the belief in *baraka* made Sufis important for artisans, who applied this belief in every aspect of their life including their working practices.

CHAPTER 2. MUSLIM IDENTITY AND SUFI SHRINES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY PUNJAB

In nineteenth-century Punjab, the Sufis associated the idea of a Muslim identity with the shrine architecture by interpreting different images and decorative motifs according to the religious scriptures, such as the *Quran*, the prophetic traditions and Sufi texts. In most of the cases, the intention of the Sufis and the artisan-builders to project a separate identity through architecture was perceived in the same way by visitors to the shrines. Later on, the shrine-based communities articulated the culturally distinctive Muslim identity in the politics of the 1930s and 40s, which led to the partition of India. Because of these reasons, the construction and reception of Sufi shrines was a political act.

Hardly any architectural or cultural historian explains the ideological bases of the architecture of Sufi shrines in Punjab. Scholars discuss Islamic shrines in various parts of the world from four perspectives. I will briefly review these positions to put forward my argument about the ideological bases of the shrine buildings. Several art and architectural historians interpret religious architecture (especially that of mosques and Islamic shrines) as representing the eternal principle or divine plan— what is sometimes referred to as perennialist approach.[1] According to it, symbolism is a language which God uses to communicate his message, and the analytical tools of art history do not help in explaining such symbolism. However, the perennialist approach has received severe criticism from a number of art historians on

[1]Kieth Critchlow, *Islamic Patterns: An Analytical and Cosmological Approach* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976); Titus Burckardt, *Art of Islam, Language and Meaning* (London, World of Islam Festival Company, 1976); Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987); Annemarie Schimmel, *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 1984).

grounds of de-contextualization, ahistoricity and the absence of scientific precision in analysing Islamic art and architecture.[2]

The critique of the perennialist approach led to the emergence of a second approach, mainly represented by Samer Akkach,[3] Allen F. Roberts and Mary Nooter Roberts.[4] Akkach, an architectural historian, finds a consistent correlation of Sufi cosmological ideas with the architectural and spatial organization of Muslim architecture despite regional stylistic diversity between the tenth and the eighteenth centuries. But he does not identify the factors (e.g., how did artisans familiarize with Sufi ideas) which led to this correlation between spatial ordering and mystical ideas. Cultural anthropologists Allen Roberts and Mary Roberts address this question while investigating the twentieth-century imaginary of the Mouridies, a religious community in Senegal, which used art and architecture to communicate their beliefs, practices and teachings of their Sufi-master, Shiekh Amadou Bamba (1853-1927). Several other scholars depart from this approach and analyse "Islamic" architecture (mosques, shrines, caravanserais and palaces) in stylistic terms.[5] They discuss regional influences on various styles of Islamic architecture over time.

Post-colonial scholarship has begun to question basic categories such as Hindu, Muslim, ancient, medieval, and modern architecture, which gained currency in the nineteenth

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[2]For criticism, see Gulru Necipoglu, *The Topkapi Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica: Getty Centre for the History of Art and Humanities, 1995); W.K. Chorbachi, "In the Tower of Babel: Beyond Symmetry in Islamic Design", in I. Hargittai (ed.), *Symmetry 2: Unifying Human Understanding* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1989); Oleg Grabar, "Symbols and Signs in Islamic Architecture", in R. Holod and D. Rastorfer (eds.), *Architecture and Community* (New York: Aperture, 1983).

[3]Samer Akkach, *Cosmology and Architecture in Pre-modern Islam: An Architectural Reading of Mystical Ideas* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005).

[4]Allen F. Roberts and Mary Nooter Roberts, *A Saint in the City: Sufi Arts of Urban Senegal* (Los Angeles: University of California, 2003).

[5]Fredrick W. Bunce, *Islamic Tombs in India: The Iconography and Genesis of their Design* (New Delhi: DK Printworld, 2004); Bianca Maria Alfieri, *Islamic Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent* (London: Laurence King, 2000).

century.[6] Such scholarship stigmatizes the usage of terms such as "Hindu" and "Islamic" architecture as a colonial strategy to control India's past in the interest of the empire and argues that religious categories, initially used by colonial scholars and administrators, articulated through the disciplines of archaeology and architecture, were later used for constructing nationalism.

Parallel to the above cited scholarship, several architectural historians highlight the discordant voices, personal and political agendas of the patrons, and unstated ideological assumptions in mosque and shrine architecture. Jerrilynn Dodds argues in his study of early medieval Spanish architecture that the relationship of ideology with architecture is not confined "to the conscious gestures of patrons"; sometimes architecture can also be a "passageway to certain collective assumptions, exploring the ways that formal solutions become the unconscious repositories of ideological struggle … cultures react creatively when confronted with one another, and such encounters help to form a group's attitude towards its art and itself".[7] Similarly, Tajuddin Mohamad Rasdi, while debating the interpretations of Malay mosque architecture, suggests to consider the "political agendas, personal symbolic gestures, questionable religious practices and the effect of colonization on the masses".[8] In the same way, Thomas Barrie views architecture as a "cultural artefact" which represents the

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[6]Thomas R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (London: Faber and Faber, 1989); Metcalf, "Past and Present: Towards an Aesthetic of Colonialism", in GHR Tillotson (ed.), *Paradigms of Indian Architecture: Space and Time in Representation and Design* (Surrey: Curzon, 1998), pp. 12-25; Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); Guha-Thakurta, "Tales of the Bharhut Stupa: Archaeology in the Colonial and Nationalist Imaginations" in GHR Tillotson (ed.), *Paradigms of Indian Architecture: Space and Time in Representation and Design* (Surrey: Curzon, 1998), pp. 26-58.

[7]Jerrilynn D. Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), pp. 1, 3.

[8]Mohamad Tajuddin Mohamad Rasdi, *The Architectural Heritage of the Malay World: The Traditional Mosque* (Kaula Lumpur: Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, 2003[2000]), pp. 22.

political, social, economic contexts, and beliefs, anxieties, fears, and expectations of the community.[9]

Following Akkach, Roberts, Dodds, Rasdi, and Barrie, I propose that the Sufis and artisan-builders associated Muslim identity with shrines in the context of political instability and religious revolts in the nineteenth century, as reflected in the construction of Khwaja Suleman Taunsvi's shrine in district Dera Ghazi Khan. The turbulent context led to the acceptance of religious categories in the cultural domain by both the British and the locals, who interpreted the Muslim identity of shrines according to their own experiences, beliefs and occasion (such as Sufi *mela* –festivals—at shrines).

2.1. Neo-Sufism

Several scholars dealing with nineteenth-century Sufism use the term "neo-Sufism" to denote new tendencies within the Sufi traditions in Southeast Asia, China, eastern Russia (especially Caucasia) and Africa.[10] These tendencies included Sufis' involvement in militant anti-colonial activities, their strict observance of *sharia* (Islamic law), and active participation in politics to establish or protect Islamic states.[11] Other scholars dispute this idea because of

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[9]Thomas Barrie, *The Sacred In-Between: The Mediating Roles of Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2010).

[10]Fazlur Rahman coined the term, neo-Sufism. Fazlur Rahman, *Islam,* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1979 [1966]), pp. 205-11. For Sufis' responses to colonialism see Julia A. Clancy-Smith, *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunasia, 1800-1904)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); David Robinson, *Paths of Accomodation: Muslim Societies and French Colonial Authorities in Senegal and Mauritania, 1880-1920* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2000).

[11]Several scholars used the concept of neo-Sufism. For instance, J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 105-7; John Voll, *Islam, Continuity and Change in the Modern World* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1982), pp. 23-145; Bradford Martin, *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth Century Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 71-2, 108.

over-generalization of complex historical processes.[12] Despite disagreement on the usage of the prefix "neo", most scholars agree that the nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed revivalist tendencies among various Sufi orders in most parts of the Muslim world.

The concept of neo-Sufism is equally useful for understanding the tendencies among nineteenth-century Punjabi Sufis, who largely belonged to the Chishtiyya *silsila*. They perceived the Sikh and the British as a threat to the very existence of Islam in India. As the Mughals weakened, the Sufis set for themselves an agenda of countering moral decline and purifying the religion to save the dwindling "Muslim" power.[13] Sufi communities professed the idea of a Muslim leader (*khalifa* or *Imam*), capable of managing both religious and temporal responsibilities.[14] In this section, I will consider the militant Sufi resistance against the Sikhs and the British to map the context in which the Sufis associated Muslim identity with shrines.

In early nineteenth-century Punjab, the warrior Sufis turned against the Sikh rulers. Hagiographic literature mentions a number of reasons: the destruction of Sufi shrines and mosques (illustrations 13-17); abduction of Muslim women by the Sikhs; plundering and killing of Sufis and other Muslims; restrictions on Muslims to perform their religious duties; forceful conversions of Muslims to Sikhism or Hinduism; and revolts of the Sikhs against the

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[12]Bernd Radtka, "Between Projection and Suppression, Some considerations concerning the study of Sufism", in Frederick de Jong (ed.), *Shi'a Islam, Sects and Sufism: Historical Dimensions, Religious Practice and Methodological Considerations* (Utrecht: M.Th. Houtsma Stichting, 1992), pp. 70-82; Rex O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad ibn Idris and Idrisi Tradition* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1990), pp. 1-9. For multiple responses of Sufis to colonialism and post-colonial states (1800-2000) from a global history's perspective, see Nile Green, *Sufism: A Global History* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 187-238.

[13]Francis Robinson, *Islam and Muslim History in South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[14]Sufis also actively took part in politics in pre-colonial period. I.H. Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics: A Study Relating to the Political Activities of the Ulema in the South-Asian Subcontinent from 1556 to 1947* (Karachi: Ma'aref, 1972).

Muslim rulers.[15] Similarly, the Sikhs were also suspicious of Sufi circles because of their association with the local Muslim rulers and different religion. Maharaja Ranjeet Singh did patronize several shrines but the gulf between the Sikhs and the Sufis could not be bridged.[16] The response of the Sufi communities to the Sikh rule varied. Sufis, who were not within the Sikh territories, preferred militant resistance to protect the Muslim rulers in the adjacent states such as Bahawalpur and Multan.[17] While Sufis who lived within the Sikh territory avoided militancy,[18] many of them later helped the British against the Sikhs.[19]

Several Sufis' groups waged *jihad* against the British because of various reasons: first, Sufis perceived the British rule as Christian rule because the East India Company (EIC) patronized

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[15]Kaliq Ahmad Nizami, *tarikh-e-mashaik-e-chisht* (Lahore: Mushtaq Book Corner, n.d.), pp. 325-6, 481; Maulana Amir Baksh Munishi, *anwaar-e-samsia* (Lahore: Darul-aloom Qamrul Islam Sulemani, 2001 [1978]), pp. 32-33; Syed Muhammad Saeed, *miratul ashqeek*, trans. Ghulam Nizamud Din, (Lahore: Seerat Foundation, 2006), pp. 197-8; Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, *mouj-e-kausar, musalmanoun ki mazhabi or ilmi tareekh ka doer-e-jadeed, uneesvein sadi key aghaaz say zamana-e-haal tuk* (Lahore: Idara-e-siqafat-e-Islamia, 2007), p. 21.

[16]About eighty percent cash of the state went to meet the military expenses during Ranjeet Singh's period. His grants to the religious institutions depended on his mood, desire to show his generosity and win the support of the locals. Charles Joseph Hall, "The Maharaja's Account Books: State and Society under the Sikhs" (Urbana, IN: University of Illinois at Urbana-Cambaign, Unpublished PhD dissertation, 1981), pp. 243-8.

[17]In Punjab, in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century, Hafiz Jamal and his followers fought along with the army of Nawab Muzaffer Khan, the ruler of Multan, against the Sikhs for saving Muslim political rule in south Punjab (Multan region). Nizami, *tarikh-e-mashaik-e-chisht*, pp. 576-8. In 1835, a Sufi, Mian Muhammad Afzel, along with his followers revolted against the Sikhs in Jhang district, and was killed by the Sikh army. Muhammad Suhbat Khan Kohati, *faroog-e-ilm main khanwad-e-siyal sharif or un key kulfa ka kirdaar* (Karachi: Anjuman-e-Qamar-ul-Islam, 2010), pp. 60-1. In the first half of the nineteenth-century, Syed Ahmad Shaheed's (1786-1831) *jihad* against the Sikh rule involved Sufis in militant activities. Belonging to the city Rae Berailly (Awadh), Ahmed's movement intended to carve an Islamic state by enforcing Sharia law (or *Tariqah-ye Muhammadi*). The main motivation for this *jihad* came from a *fatwa* issued a leading Muslim scholar Shah Abdul Aziz in 1803, who declared India as *darul harab* (land of infidels). Apart from Delhi, other urban centres of this *jihad* movement were Tonk, Bareilly and Patna. Ahmed's army successfully captured some areas on the north western side of the Sikh kingdom including the important city of Peshawer in 1830. Syed Ahmad was slaughtered along with his six hundred *mujahedeen* in a battle against the Sikhs at Balakot in 1831. His teachings and philosophy of *jihad* was compiled by his close friend who also died with him, Muhammad Ismael. See for an extensive commentary on this *jihad* movement, Ghulam Rasool Maher, *Syed Ahmad Shaheed* (Lahore: Kitab Manzil, 1952).

[18]Such as Suleman Taunsvi in district DG Khan, Shamsuddin Siyalvi in district Sargodha.

[19]For instance, Makhdoom Mahmud, the custodian of the shrine of Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya, helped the British against the Sikhs in capturing Multan in 1848.

the Christian missionaries; the British confiscated land grants to various Sufi *khanqah* and shrines; the British also demolished many shrines, especially in Delhi in 1857 (illustrations 18, 19); many followers of Punjabi Sufis were involved in the 1857 revolt and were subsequently killed, a fact which increased the gulf between the Sufi communities and the British.[20] A number of Punjabi Sufis strictly prohibited their followers to adopt the British employment.[21] The British knew about the involvement of Sufis in revolts throughout India which made them suspicious of "Muslims" as a whole.

Either Sufis pursued militant strategy and/or cultural revivalism, they forged an alliance with artisans who had their own reasons for joining these resistant communities. For instance, artisans (particularly weavers) were badly affected by the colonial policies of exporting cotton and importing textile products; cobblers were concerned because of the export of leather which severely affected the shoe-markets in Punjab.[22] Sufis were well aware of this economic exploitation and the articulation of their grievances helped the Sufis to gather the support of artisans.

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[20]When the British annexed Punjab in 1848, Syed Ahmad's followers fought against the new rulers across the subcontinent. This resistance lost its momentum after the "Wahabi trials" during the 1860s, but it continued until the First World War. Wilayat Ali (d. 1853), Inayat Ali (d.1858) remain powerful in Punjab (later on North Western Frontier Province), Eastern Bengal and the Deccan. In Bengal Ahmad's disciple, Titu Mir (d.1831) waged a *jihad* against the British. Karamat Ali Jahanpuri (d. 1873), another disciple of Syed Ahmed, provided intellectual groundings to the movement. He published almost forty-six titles. Barbara Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 70-1.

[21] For instance, Suleman Taunsvi told his followers "Angel becomes Satan in government's job … It is better to die with hunger than to serve the British". Nizami, *tarikh-e-mashaik-e-chisht*, pp. 623-6. Shamsuddin Siyalvi had the similar views. Saeed, *miratul ashqeek*, pp. 196-7.

[22]For an overview of the colonial exploitation, see a contemporary account, Romesh Dutt, *The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age, From the accession of the Queen Victoria in 1837 to the commencement of the Twentieth Century* (London: Kegan Paul, 1908, third edition), pp. 82-123.

One such Sufi was Shah Ghulam Ali (1743-1824) of Shahjahanabad (Delhi), who enjoyed large support by weavers. Ali voiced against the trading activities of the EIC.[23] Fadl-e-Haqq Khairabadi (1797-1861), a Sufi scholar from Awadh, who had a considerable following in Delhi, also viewed colonial exploitation as a root cause of the 1857 revolt. As early as 1827, he had argued that Indian society was declining morally and economically due to the EIC's economic ventures. Khairabadi declared that *jihad* would be an obligation if the British attacked Delhi. He was arrested and exiled to the Andaman Islands.[24] Similarly, another Sufi, Haji Imdadullah Makki (1817-99), who waged *jihad* against the British in 1857 and had a large following in Punjab, believed that Islam could only be enforced by protecting the economic interests of traders, cultivators and artisans, and economic prosperity could stabilize the Muslims' political rule.[25] Motivation by such Sufis, especially from the Chishti-Sabri order, involved artisans in military conflict with the British. In this context, the Sufi patrons attempted to express their world-view through shrine architecture, which I will discuss in the next section.

2.2. Construction of Sufi Shrines: A Case Study of Suleman Taunsvi's Shrine

How did the Punjabi Sufis use architecture as a way of representing "Muslim identity"? I will consider one case study of Khwaja Suleman Taunsvi's (b.1769) shrine which also typifies the

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[23]Ghulam Ali, a Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi Sufi, had two meetings with a British resident in Delhi, Charles Metcalf between 1811 and 1819. Details of their meetings suggest the disliking of Sufi for the "Mitkaf farangi". He called them dog. W.E. Fusfeld, "The Shaping of Sufi Leadership in Delhi: The Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya, 1750 to 1920" (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, unpublished PhD dissertation, 1981), p. 166.

[24]Fadl-e-Haq Khairabadi also wrote a booklet on 1857 describing various causes of the revolt, such as economic exploitation of the British which forced the locals to shift towards cash crops, EIC's involvement in the conversion of Muslims to Christianity, and restrictions on Muslims to perform their religious duties. Fadl-e-Haq Khairabadi, *saurat-ul-hindya (The Indian Revolution)* (Lahore: Maktabah-i-Qadriyah, 1974, reprinted).

[25]Zia Tasneem Bilgrami, *roshni key minaar* (Karachi: Kitabiyaat publications, 2004 [1984]), pp. 454-5.

construction of other shrines patronized by the Sufi communities in the nineteenth century. Taunsvi was one of the leading Sufis in the nineteenth-century Chishtiyya *silsila* in India.[26] Taunsvi spent most of his life in his ancestral village, Taunsa Sharif, in district DG Khan, where his shrine is also located (illustrations 21-28).[27]

Like other Sufis, Taunsvi was critical of the Sikh rule and the EIC, but he did not participate in any military campaign.[28] However, his friends and disciples (such as Hafiz Jamal and Muhammad Afzal) took part in various revolts against the Sikhs. Suleman Taunsvi had a well-defined agenda for reviving the "Islamic" culture (*Islami tamadun*) in the subcontinent, which he believed could make it possible to reclaim political authority, and eliminate social inequalities and economic exploitation. He disseminated these ideas through his *khanqah* at Taunsa, situated among an overwhelmingly Muslim population of mostly cultivators and

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[26]Suleman Taunsvi was initiated in Sufism by Khwaja Nur Muhammad Muharvi (b.1730-1791), who was presumably involved in fighting against the Sikhs for defending Muslim rulers of Bahawalpur state. Masood Hasan Shahab, *awliya-e-bahawalpur* (Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 1984), pp. 103-129.

[27]The district was located on the western side of river Indus which separated it from rest of the Punjab. Adjoining districts of Punjab were Mianwali and Muzaffargarh while it also touched Bahawalpur state, Sindh, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province (which was in nineteenth-century part of Sikh and then British Punjab). Being located at the outskirt of Punjab, the area remained under the political control of different rulers based in Sindh, Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Multan, Bahawalpur or Lahore. Between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, the district remained a bone of contention between two Baloch tribes, Miranis and Nahars. Afterwards, the Kalhora family ruled it from Sindh. In the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century, the area was controlled by Afghan rulers of Durrani empire, while the Baloch tribes also exerted their influence.

[28]Ranjeet Singh extended his empire to DG Khan district in 1819. The Sikhs gave this land to the Nawab of Bahawalpur, Sadiq Ali Khan, as a fief. This arrangement proved to be short lived and the ambitious Nawab broke the deal with the Sikhs in 1827 and tried to extend his territory. The Khalsa army retaliated and under Gen Jean Baptiste Ventura, an Italian by origin, and annexed it with the Sikh territory. Taunsvi disliked the way *nawab* approached the whole situation resulting in the miseries of the Muslims. At least on one occasion, Taunsvi asked one of his disciples to fight against the British when he heard about the annexation of Multan by the British in 1849. For Suleman Taunsvi's views about the Muslim state, elites and Christians, see Nizami, *tarikh-e-mashaik-e-chisht*, pp. 620-8.

artisans.[29] He used local dialects to introduce his followers to the *Quran,* the prophet's traditions, and classic Arabic and Persian Sufi texts, to define a separate identity.[30]

Taunsvi effectively communicated the message to his followers and disciples, who showed their dislike for English language, dress and architecture.[31] Interestingly, many of his followers used architecture to express their ideas. For instance; Taunsvi's successor and grandson, Khwaja Allah Baksh Taunsvi (d.1901), built shrines, *sirais,* mosques, *madaris,* residences and wells in Taunsa on the pattern of the Central Asian architectural style.[32] Similarly, Muhammad Din Siyalvi (1837-1909), Taunsvi's follower, and Shamsuddin Siyalvi's son and *khalifa*, personally supervised the extensive buildings of shrines and *khanqah* in Siyal Shareef, in district Sargodha. Except for blue tiles, which were perhaps not easily available, the buildings were similar to those constructed in Taunsa.[33]

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[29]His *khanqah* was a large establishment with permanent and temporary staff that included artisans, cook and other servants. In the absence of any record of finances of his *khanqah,* we can speculate that it was managed by *futuh* (unasked gifts) and donations from Muslim *ashrafia.* In the second half of the nineteenth century, the population of district DG Khan was 385,470 (in 1881), 427,758 (in 1891) and 471,140 (in 1901). According to the estimates of 1901, the district had 87 per cent Muslim population (about 412,012) followed by Hindus (57,815) and Sikhs (1,027). In 1901, Shoemakers and leatherworkers in majority (7,000), followed by carpenters (4,000) and weavers (3,000). *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Punjab,* Vol. II (Lahore: The Government Printing Press, 1902-03, reprinted Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1976), pp. 260-1.

[30]Some of these texts included *fasus al-hikam* (written in twelfth or thirteenth-century by Ibn-e-Arabi). Ibn-e-Arabi, an Andalusian Sufi, was considered as Grand-Sheikh among most of the Sufi traditions in Muslim world. The other texts were *masnavi manavi* (by Jalaluddin Muhammad Rumi, composed between 1258 and 1273), works of Nuruddin Abdar Rahman Jami (1414-1492), *adab-al-Talibeen* (by Sheikh Muhammad Chishti in the sixteenth century), *ashra-e-kamila* (written by Sheikh Kalimullah) apart from literature on *Quran* and the tradition of prophet Muhammad.

[31]One of the *khalifas* of Taunsvi, Hafiz Muhammad Ali, who had established his *khanqah* in Khairabad and preached Chishtiyya ideas in Deccan and Awadh, showed his hatred against the British dress and architecture. Even he disliked anyone who wore English shoes or wrote a word of English in a letter. Nizami, *tarikh-e-mashaik-e-chisht*, pp. 651-2.

[32]Ibid., pp. 690-1.

[33]To ensure the realization of his architectural projects, Muhammad Din invited specialist artisan-builders from various parts of Punjab. Muhammad Mureed Ahmad Chishti, *faouzul mikaal fi kulfai-e-pir siyaal*, Vol. II, (Karachi: Anjuman-e-Qamar-ul-Sulemania, 2010), pp. 41-3.

I will discuss the construction of Taunsvi's shrine to show how he and his successors reinforced the "Muslim identity" by relating architectural practices with Sufis' ideas. The construction began in the 1840s and was probably completed in the 1880s. Taunsvi personally supervised the process, and after his death in 1851, Allah Baksh made extensive additions and patronized new buildings on the same lines.[34] So the shrine and its various decorative motifs represent not only Taunsvi's understanding of a separate identity but also his successors who strictly followed their Sufi-master.

2.2.1. Selection of Architectural Style and Artisans

Apart from artisans' skills, availability of construction material and finances, the ideas and interests of royal patrons and the Sufi *silsila* strongly influenced the shrine architecture in medieval Punjab.[35] So, the sultans and the Suharwardi Sufis in Multan region promoted Central Asian architecture to create a home-like space for the immigrant Sufis.[36] The Mughals patronized the construction of Chishti shrines, which borrowed the decorative

[34]The total cost of the shrine was 85, 000 Rs which the Nawab of Bahawalpur donated. For a dwelling house, a notable from Multan, Ghulam Mustafa, paid Rs 10,000. For underground residence space (*tykhana*) and *serai*, Rs 33,000 were spent. FWR Fryer, *Final Report on the First Regular Settlement of the Dera Ghazi Khan District, in the Derajat Division, 1869-1874 AD* (Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1876), p. 51. It is not clear who initiated the construction of shrine, artisans' oral tradition suggests that Taunsvi himself decided about the construction, while one source proposes that the *nawab* sent artisans and insisted on building the shrine. Whatever the case may be, Taunsvi himself supervised the construction.

[35]Ghafer Shahzad identifies some stylistic differences in the Punjabi shrine architecture of Suharwardiyya, Chishtiyya, Qadriyya and Naqshbandiyya Sufis, which were dependent on the patrons' (Sufis and kings) liking for a particular style, availability of material, artisans' skills, and the influences of regional architectural styles. So the Suharwardi Sufis because of their interaction with the sultans had extensive and highly decorative shrines and *khanqahs*, the Chishtis because of their regular interaction with the poor, built very simple shrines, while the Qadri Sufis had decorative shrines but comparatively less than the Suharwardis. Ghafer Shahzad, *punjab main khanqahi culture* (Lahore: Sung-e-Meel Publications, 2009), pp. 138-44.

[36]This style became popular from the fourteenth century onwards, when Sultan Muhammad bin Tuqhlaq donated a royal tomb (perhaps originally built by Sultan Ghiasuddin Tughlaq for himself) to the decedents of Shah Rukn-e-Alam. Shrines of Makhdoom Rasheed and Sultan Ali Akbar (in Multan) followed the similar style. Excessive use of blue tiles, a highly decorative fresco work with images of small houses, huts, fruits, plants, trees and perfume bottles, are salient features of such style, especially in the buildings built from the fifteenth century onwards (Illustrations 5-10).

patterns from various traditions such as the Hindu temple and palace, and Persian architecture, thereby representing Chishti Sufism as a local tradition. Hence, the choice of a style by either the Sufi community or the royal patrons was meaningful, in most of the cases.

Being a Chishti Sufi, Taunsvi was supposed to select the late-Mughal style for his shrine by following the architecture of the shrines of prominent Chishti masters such as Moinuddin Chishti Ajmeri (Ajmer) and Nizamuddin Awliya (Delhi). Even Taunsvi's immediate Sufi-master, Nur Muharvi's shrine (located in Chishtian, Bahawalpur), was built with white marble and shows the influences of the late-Mughal style. But Taunsvi preferred a Multani style, which was borrowed from Central Asia, expressing his association with the Persian tradition (illustrations 21-28). He was not the only nineteenth-century Chishti Sufi who rejected the late-Mughal style; the shrines of Hafiz Jamal and Khwaja Ghulam Farid (1845-1901) were also built in the same style.

Taunsvi's selection of artisan-builders for his architectural undertaking shows how careful he was in associating his project with Muslim identity and the Multani architectural tradition. Taunsvi engaged a number of artisan families for his project; two amongst them were the Ansari and the Rajput. Both families were closely associated with the Sufis and had developed some kind of acquaintance with Sufi ideas (see introduction). These artisan-builders followed the Sufi *adab* (manners). They took *bayyath* on the hands of Suleman Taunsvi.[37] Before beginning their work, they used to perform ablutions (*wazu*) and utter pious formulae, especially *bismillah* (I start with the name of Allah). By performing such acts, they reinforced their belief in Sufi teachings and distinguished the "Muslim's way" of undertaking an architectural project. The artisan-builders regularly attended the discussions at

[37]It was a social practice among artisans in Punjab to take *bayyath* to show their association with the Sufi who was their employer as well. Interview with Abdul Rehman, (May-June 2010, Multan).

the *khanqah*, which familiarized them with Sufi ideas and provided a theological basis to their craft practices.

Working on shrine projects proved to be beneficial for artisan-builders. It increased their social networking with the Sufi communities, traders and elites, and thus, secured more construction projects.[38] Shrine-based communities must have given *futuh* (unasked gifts) to artisans, as well. Undertaking a construction project meant the association with that shrine for a long time because the custodian of shrines used to hire the same family for repairing and extension. Artisan-builders attributed these economic opportunities to the *baraka* of Sufis. Those artisans (especially those based in urban centres) who were not directly in the service of Sufis revered various patron-saints and visited shrines to invoke *baraka.*[39]

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[38]In the nineteenth century, the Ansari artisans participated in many construction projects. Following are some of the instances. Name the artisan who participated and supervised the project is mentioned in the bracket: Shrine of Sachal Sarmast, Khairpur (Ali Ahmad), Haji Pur at Fadilpur district Rajunpur (Ali Ahmad), Nur Muhammad Muharvi, Muhar Sharif (Ali Ahmad), Taunsa Shareef, DG Khan district (Haji Ali Muhammad and Haji Allah Buksh), Pir Musa, Nawab Station Walihar (Haji Allah Buksh), Dirawer Fort, Dera Nawab (Hafiz Raheem Buksh and Allah Buksh), Khadka mosque, Multan (Muhammad Buksh), Khwaja Ghulam Farid (Haji Allah Buksh), Tahli wali mosque, Multan (Hafiz Raheem Buksh), Thala Sharif, Sadiqabad (Allah Buksh and Muhammad Buksh), Sher Shah Derbar, Sher Shah in Multan (Raheem Buksh), Chuhanay Sharif, Khankabila (Haji Allah Buksh), Barain Sharif, Khanpur (Haji Allah Buksh), Qazi Mithu, Multan (Raheem Buksh and Muhammad Buksh). The Rajput family in the construction of the Nur Mahal, palace of the Nawab of Bahawalpur.

[39]Nur Ahmad Chishti, a follower of Suleman Taunsvi, while writing about various communities in Lahore in the 1850s, mentions *majladi* (book binders), who recognized archangel Gabrial as their patron-saint, *chaperbund* (specialized in making and repairing roofs with wood or bamboos) believed Bayazid Bistami (d.874), an Iranian Sufi, as their patron-saint. Nur Ahmad Chishti, *yaadgar-e-chisti, Lahore ki zatain ur on ki rasumaat* (Lahore, Bookhome, 2004[1859]), pp. 92, 97. Similarly, in the 1880s, in the region of Umballa and Kangra, Hindu and Muslim *jullaha* (weavers) developed a cult around Bhagat Kabir, a medieval mystic and weaver by profession from Banaras. They called themselves *Kabirbansi julaha*. *Punjab Castes: Being a reprint of the Chapter on "The Races, Castes and Tribes of the People" in the Report on the Census of the Punjab published in 1883 by the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson, KCSI* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1916), p. 303.

2.2.2. Symbolism in Taunsvi's Shrine

Can we relate the symbols (decorative motifs and inscriptions) used in Taunsvi's shrine to the political context of nineteenth-century Punjab, and the fears, anxieties and expectations of the shrine-based community? To study this aspect, I will follow Samer Akkach's, Allen Roberts and Mary Roberts', Tajuddin Rasdi's and Thomas Barrie's approach. Like Akkach, I will use the Sufi texts, which Taunsvi discussed with his followers, to find a correlation of symbols and text. Like Roberts, I will use artisan-builders' oral traditions to understand their beliefs in making various symbols. As Rasdi and Barrie suggest, my reading of symbols will be within the political, social and religious context of nineteenth-century Punjab, highlighting the preoccupations and aspirations of shrine-based communities.

One of the Quranic inscriptions on the wall of the mosque in Taunsvi's shrine complex shows the patrons' and the artisan-builders' command of symbolism. The inscription explains the existence of God in allegories, which are used to communicate with people.[40] In the Sufi tradition, this idea of recognizing God through symbols is extensively elaborated by Ibn-e-Arabi, and like most of the Punjabi Sufis, Suleman Taunsvi followed him.[41] Ibn-e-Arabi argues that symbols help in communicating with the unseen worlds but these should be

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[40]"Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The similitude of His light is as a niche wherein is a lamp. The lamp is in a glass. The glass is as it were a shining star. (This lamp is) kindled from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the East nor of the West, whose oil would almost glow forth (of itself) though no fire touched it. Light upon light, Allah guideth unto His light whom He will. And Allah speaketh to mankind in allegories, for Allah is knower of all things". (Surah 24: An-Nur, Aya 25, *Quran*), (Illustration 26).

[41]Sufis used various Arabic and Persian terms, such as *aya, ramz, ishara, ibara, mithal* and *dalil,* for symbols. The term *aya* is understood as 'mark' or 'sign', it is also used to denote the meanings like "instances", "lesson", "wonder", "reminder", etc. Similarly, *ishara* is used for any gesture by human beings to communicate same message which can also be shared by words. Sufis also consider *ishara* from any other mystical power or from God. *Ibra* is a term used frequently in Sufi tradition and in communicating the sense of symbols. Akkach, *Cosmology and Architecture in Pre-modern Islam*, p.27; Muhauddin Ibn-e-Arabi, *futuhat-ul-makkiyyah*, trans. Saim Chishti, Vol. I, (Jhang: Ali Brothers, 1986), pp. 226, 239-42; Muhauddin Ibn-e-Arabi, *futuhat-ul-makkiyyah*, trans. Saim Chishti, Vol. III, (Jhang: Ali Brothers, 1991), pp. 230-1.

interpreted according to Sufi knowledge to avoid any misconception.[42] With this perspective, the Sufi patrons and the artisan-builders viewed symbols in shrine architecture, which I will discuss in this section.

The artisan-builders made different images of plants, flowers, huts, perfume bottles, vases and fruits in the shrine, with the consent of their Sufi-patrons, Suleman Taunsvi and Allah Baksh Taunsvi. Such images can be traced back to several seventeenth-century buildings (such as the Wazir Khan mosque in Lahore and the Shahi mosque in Chiniot). One such image is a tree, with a variety of flowers and fruits. Nineteenth-century artisans called it *humago*, meaning everything.[43] Etymologically, the term *humago* and the Sufi idea of *humaost* (All is He-God) have similar meanings, which Punjabi Sufis preached. *Humaost* can be translated in Arabic as *wahdatul wajud*, or the "unity of God".[44] This idea implies that everything emerges from and merges into God, who is incomprehensible and the existence of

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[42]Ibn-e-Arabi uses two terms, *ramz* (symbol) and *lughz* (riddle) to describe the dual function of symbols: one is expressive while the other is deceptive. Akkach, *Cosmology and Architecture in Pre-modern Islam*, p. 28. Following Ibn-e-Arabi, Taunsvi believed that true knowledge was rooted in the Real *wajud* (God) and correct perspective was the awareness of the essence (*dhat*) of fixed entities as intended by God. Use of reason alone was the nature of animals, who completely relied on their senses. Similarly, imagination alone could also be misleading as it would lead to fantasy. By using both faculties, human beings could know the true essence of things. One must keep in mind *tawhid* (Unity of God), prophecy (divine truths) and *akhera* (day of judgement) while acquiring any kind of knowledge. If a person was not well-versed, he should follow the authority of a Sheikh or spiritual guide to acquire right knowledge. Taunsvi cautioned his followers to avoid acquiring knowledge from other traditions which could shatter their beliefs. Such type of belief-system provided little space for colonial influences among the Sufi communities. For Ibn-e-Arabi's concept of knowledge, Ibn-e-Arabi, *futuhat-ul-makkiyyah*, Vol. I, pp. 88-110. Also see Shahabuddin Suharwardi, *Awarif-ul-marif*, trans. Shams Berailvi (Lahore: Ghulam Rasool, 1998), pp. 173-90.

[43]Interview with Abdul Rehman. (For the examples of *humago*, see illustrations, 23, 27).

[44]*Wajud* denotes God as well as every other thing. The term, *wahdatal wajud* describes "the Oneness of God's *wajud* and the manyness of the objects of his knowledge. The Oneness of *wajud* gives rise to the existence that is shared by the entire cosmos, and the manyness of knowledge gives rise to the multiplicity of things and their constantly changing states. Both the oneness of being and manyness of knowledge are subordinate to God's unity". William C. Chittick, *Ibn Arabi: Heir to the Prophets* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2005), p. 71.

cosmos discloses his undisclosibility. The Sufi patrons and the artisan-builders selected *humago* design to represent the concept of *humaost*.

Humago had a political meaning, too. The image also symbolizes a Sufi, who is the representative of God and possesses divine attributes, and worldly and mystical knowledge. Nineteenth-century shrine-based communities believed that a Sufi's guidance could resolve the economic and political problems of Indian Muslims, who were suffering because of not following Islam. Consequently, the locals gathered around the Sufis in *jihad* and other activities to revive religious practices. The Sufi patrons and the artisan-builders reinforced such ideas in symbolic terms by producing *humago* designs in shrine architecture.

Like *humago*, Taunsvi and the artisan-builders viewed other decorative motifs in shrine architecture according to the Sufi texts, which explain trees and flowers as analogies of God's beauty and paradise.[45] Following these texts, Taunsvi saw beauty as a reflection of God and his creation. This idea of associating beauty of an object/craft with the divine existence was common among Punjabi artisans. They understood their designs of floral patterns, fruits and perfume-bottles as an expression of paradise, described in the *Quran*, the prophet's traditions and the Sufi texts.[46] I will discuss in the third chapter, how the colonial art education tried to replace these religious beliefs with a curriculum based on the positivist approach.

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[45]For instance, a Persian poet, Saadi says, "every leaf is a tongue to laud God". Annemarie Schimmel, *Deciphering the Signs of God: A Phenomenological Approach* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2006), p. 21. Similarly, Jalal ud-Din Rumi, another Persian Sufi writes: "The trees are engaged in ritual prayer and the birds singing the litany/The violet ['s flower head] is bent down in prostration". Quoted in Annemarie Schimmel, "The Celestial Garden in Islam", in Richard Ettinghausen (ed.), *The Islamic Garden* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton, 1976), p. 25; Jalaluddin Rumi, *mulfizat-e-rumi, fihe-ma-fihe,* trans. Abdul Rasheed Tabasum, (Lahore: *idara-e-saqafat-e-islamia,* 2000). For Ibn-eArabi's explanation about the examples to understand God, see Ibn-e-Arabi, *futuhat-ul-makkiyyah,* Vol. III, pp. 229-30.

[46] Interview with Abdul Wajid and Abdul Rehman (May-June, 2010, Multan). For the description of paradise in the *Quran*, see verses 32:17, 47:15, 9:72, 39:20. For the details of paradise in the prophetic

Several scholars suggest that colours symbolize various Sufi ideas in architecture and illustrations of manuscripts,[47] while others contest such assertions and propose that colour schemes are not universally followed in Islamic/Sufi art and architecture.[48] However, there are a few instances of undisputable use of colours symbolizing Sufi ideas in Persian paintings and architecture.[49] Similarly, in Punjab, Sufis attached various meanings to different colours, such as black and blue to grief and the remembrance of the family of prophet Muhammad, green to paradise, red to the spiritual bride of God. In Taunsvi's shrine, like other shrines in the region, the artisans excessively used turquoise and blue colours. As Taunsvi himself selected the colour scheme, we can conjecture that he understood the meaning of blue, as explained by medieval Sufis, Fariduddin Attar and Rumi, who associate blue with love and kindness.[50] The artisan-builders called these colours *muhazib* and *thanday* (respectable and

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traditions, see Muslim bin al-Hajjaj, "Kitab Al-Jannat wa Sifat Naimiha wa Ahliha" in *Sahih Muslim Shareef*, trans. Allama Waheed-uz-Zaman, Vol. 6 (Lahore: Numani Kutab Khana, 2004 [ninth century]) pp. 377-84; Walliullah Abu Abdullah Mahmud Tabrizi, *mishkaat-ul-misabeah*, trans. Muhammad Sadiq Khaleel, Vol. 4 (Lahore: Maktabah-e-Muhammadia, 2005 [fourteenth century]), pp. 405-29; Muhammad Iqbal Kilani, *jannat ka bayaan* (Lahore: Hadees Publications, 1999, 2nd edition).

[47]Grace Dunham Guest, *Shiraz Painting in the Sixteenth Century* (Washington, DC: FGA, 1949), p. 44-5; Rachel Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 1990)

[48]Robert Irwin, "Louis Massignon and Esoteric Interpretation of Islamic Art" in Stephen Vernoit (ed.), *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850-1950* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), pp.163-70. Patricia L. Baker, *Islam and the Religious Arts* (London: Continuum, 2004), pp. 38-40, 180-1.

[49]For instance, in a Persian Sufi tale of *Haft Paykar*, colours are used to represent different countries, days, and characters of human beings. Black represents ignorance, yellow shows awakening of soul, green reflects inspired soul, white shows a purified soul. Illustration of such tales strictly followed the same colour scheme. Nizami Ganjavi, *The haft paykar: A Medieval Persian Romance*, trans. Julie Scott Meisami (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). In architecture, an inscription on a fifteenth century building, Darb-e-Imam, in Isfahan, states its dome "a patched blue Sufi's cloak". Baker, *Islam and the Religious Arts*, p. 181.

[50]Sometimes, one colour had different interpretations as well. Hajweri explains blue colour a sign of mourning. Ali Hajweri, *khashful majub*, trans. Fazaluddin Gohar (Lahore: Zia-ul-Quran Publications, 2010), p. 104. Blue is also used to "represent the blending of loving-kindness with whatever is other than loving-kindness". Attar says: "Due to your nature you disobeyed the *shariat*/You were blind; so you found yourself in blueness". According to Rumi: "If you are not blind, know that this blueness comes from yourself;/Speak ill of yourself; Speak no more ill of other!". Javad Nurbakhsh, *Sufi Symbolism*, *The Nubakhshi Encyclopaedia of Sufi Terminology (Farhang-e Nurbakhshi)*, Vol. IV (London: Khaniqahi-Nimatullahi Publications, 1990), p. 54.

cool). For them, a Sufi was distinguishable among common people; in the same way, blue and turquoise were superior to other colours.[51] Here the use of colours symbolizes the superiority of Sufis over others.

Punjabi artisans frequently used geometrical patterns in shrines. By using classic Sufi texts,[52] several Islamic art historians such as Hossain Nasr, Crichlow and Akkach contend that geometrical patterns were consciously reproduced to disseminate Sufi ideas in Islamic architecture.[53] However, the artisan-builder's oral traditions suggest that they used geometrical patterns in shrines for beautification.[54] In Sufi literature, "beauty" is the attribute of God.[55] The artisan-builders considered it a divine blessing to imagine and make beautiful geometrical patterns. For them, making geometrical patterns was an act of praising God, who had given them the ability to beautify the objects. They expressed these thoughts by uttering words such as *subhanallah* (God is glorious) or *masha-allah* (whatever God wills) on seeing such patterns. The use of such words also suggest a strong influence of the Sufis' idea of *humaost*, which relates (the beauty of) every object to God. I will discuss in the third chapter

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[51]Interview with Abdul Wajid (May-June 2010, Multan). The artisan-builders' oral traditions do not explain the meanings of other colours used in the shrine.

[52]Hussain bin Mansur Hallaj, *tawwaseen,* trans. Ateeq-ur-Rehman Usmani, (Lahore: Tasawwuf Foundation, 2008); Suharwardi, *awarif-ul-marif;* Ibn-e-Arabi, *futuhat-ul-makkiyyah,* trans. Saim Chishti, Vols. I & II, (Jhang: Ali Brothers, 1986-91).

[53]Each pattern has some symbolic meanings; for instance, circle represents God, eternity and timelessness because it has no end. Critchlow, *Islamic Patterns*, p. 9. Similarly, each pattern of star (6, 8, 10, 12, or 16 points), emerging from a circle, had a specific numerical value that is symbolic in nature. For such examples, see Frithjof Schuon, *Form and Substance in the Religions* (Bloomington, In: World Wisdom, 2002), p. 53.

[54]Interview with Abdul Rehman (May-June 2010, Multan).

[55] According to a Sufi tradition, beauty (*hosn*) represents "the existence of all possible perfections gathered in one being, and this can apply only to God". *Estelahat-e Eraqi* quoted in Javad Nurbakhsh, *Sufi Symbolism, The Nubakhshi Encyclopaedia of Sufi Terminology (Farhang-e Nurbakhshi),* Vol. II (London: Khaniqahi-Nimatullahi Publications, 1987), p. 29. Rumi writes: "… it is God revealing himself in a form of exquisite beauty. Gargens, camels, houris, mansions, food and drink, robes of honor, cities, houses, and various wonders are the same:.. none of these is of this world, but God has made them visible by dressing them in form". Jalaluddin Rumi, "Surrender", Kabir Helminski (ed.), *The Rumi Collection* (Boston, Mass: Shambhala Publications, 1998), p. 160. Interview with Abdul Wajid (May-June 2010, Multan).

that colonial art administrators failed to appreciate this aspect of geometrical patterns, which they viewed as meaningless and unscientific.

On the walls of the shrine complex, artisans inscribed "Allah" around which the name of Muhammad is written in a circular shape, in the Tuluth script (illustrations 26, 28). The inscription expresses Ibn-e-Arabi's concept of Muhammadan reality, that is, the personality of Muhammad embodies all divine attributes, and represents a perfect man (*al-insan al-kamil*).[56] This inscription symbolizes the popular *jihadi* slogan (follow the path of Muhammad), against the Sikhs, especially in Syed Ahmad's *jihad* movement for establishing an Islamic state. Syed was able to attract a large following from Punjab, after some initial successes, but was killed along with his followers while fighting against the Sikhs in 1831 at Balakot.

Other inscriptions, too, had political meanings, if examined in relation to Taunsvi's political ideas. For instance, one inscription on the marble doorway was *kalima* (there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is his last messenger). In the nineteenth-century context of political conflicts, it had a radical interpretation, that is, there was no law but the law of God, which the Muslims could know through the prophet's tradition. Hence, Muslims could resist the laws imposed by the Sikhs and the British. This was a popular view among the shrine-based communities, either involved in *jihad* or not. Similarly, one Quranic inscription suggests that

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[56]The divine attributes are latent in human existence, all the prophets (approximately 124000) came with the same intention of making man perfect (*al-insan al-kamil*) and to enable them to acquire divine attributes, however, Muhammad's personality was a complete self-disclosure of divinity and his path is the correct one to know all the traditions of previous prophets. Muhauddin Ibn-e-Arabi, *fusuhal hikam*, trans. Muhammad Abdul Qadeer Siddique (Lahore: Nazir Sons, 1998); Ibn-e-Arabi, *futuhat-ul-makkiyyah*, Vol. II, pp. 299-306.

God is alone, therefore, no other rule is equivalent to his.[57] Another inscription, which was recited to avoid enemies, conflicts and magic, is inscribed on the entrance to the prayer-hall of the shrine complex. It shows the intention of the Sufi-patrons to seek protection of God from the British and other communities, who were considered a threat to Islam.[58]

In various parts of the shrine, artisan-builders inscribed divine names. Following Ibn-e-Arabi and other Punjabi Sufis, Taunsvi believed in each letter in the *Quran*, and divine names had their own significance.[59] Similarly, the artisans also believed that the letters and divine names invoked *baraka*, and such inscriptions could enhance their understanding of the Islamic scriptures. The Sufi told his followers to avoid any other source of knowledge that could challenge their faith.

This aspect of associating Arabic and Persian mystical ideas to the craft practices is important in the nineteenth-century context. Taunsvi and his successors correlated mystic ideas with architecture to distinguish Muslim identity. Taunsvi's shrine should not be considered an exception; the Ansari and Rajput families, associated similar meanings to other shrines in the

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[57]Say, "He is Allah , [who is] One, Allah , the Eternal Refuge. He neither begets nor is born, Nor is there to Him any equivalent." (Surah Ikhlas, *The Quran*).

[58]"Say: I seek refuge in the Lord of mankind, The King of mankind, The God of mankind, From the evil of the sneaking whisperer, Who whispereth in the hearts of mankind, Of the jinn and of mankind". (Surah An-Nas, *The Quran*).

[59]In Punjabi, Arabic and Persian alphabets, 'Alif' is the first letter. Sufis believe that all the other letters emerge from it, and it is also the first letter of word 'Allah' (meaning God). It symbolizes Allah and his relation with Adam, the whole knowledge of the universe is incorporated in this one alphabetic. Several Punjabi Sufis such as Bullah Shah, Shah Hussain and Sultan Bahu argue that if one recognizes the significance of *Alif*, he needs nothing else. Bullah Shah terms *alif* enough for the seekers of knowledge as it contains all the meanings of external and internal worlds. Sultan Bahu, *abyaat-e-bahu* (Lahore: Shabeer Brothers, 2007, reprinted); Bullah Shah writes: "*Ilm-oun bas kareen o yaar- Ik Alif teray darkaar*" Stop trying to be the one who knows. For 'God is One' you need to know". For his poetry, see Bullah Shah, *kalam hazrat bulleh shah* (Lahore: Zia-ul-Quran Publications, n.d., reprinted); For Ibn-e-Arabi's concepts of letters, see Ibn-e-Arabi, *futuhat-ul-makkiyyah,* Vol. II, pp. 120 (for *alif*), 120-24 (for *ba).*

region.[60] In the third chapter, I will discuss how the curriculum devised by the British officials for training the artisans was the exact opposite of these ideas.

2. 3. Reception of Shrines

Lindsay Jones explains that the reception of sacred architecture is not determined by the intentions of the patrons or builders, rather "architectural meanings are fluid, situational, and transient continue", and so we need to study the "ceremonial (and sometime unceremonious) situations that bring people and buildings into active interaction".[61] My argument, in this section and the next, is informed by Jones' idea of situational understanding of sacred architecture. In nineteenth-century Punjab, people perceived sacred architecture according to their own historical and personal experiences, occasions of rituals (Sufi *mela*), cultural traditions, belief-system, and political context of confrontation and wars. In a broad sense, and despite some contestations, the visitors associated "Muslim" identity with shrine

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[60]Not every shrine constructed in nineteenth-century Punjab was intended to follow a particular style to represent a distinguished Muslim identity. Contractors (*thakedar*), who worked with the PWD, were mainly involved in repairing or constructing such shrines, which the Sikhs or the British destroyed. Their main concern was to construct the building within limited budget. One such example is of Muhammad Sultan *thakedar* (d. 1876) in Lahore, who had expertise in making soaps. The British gave him several contracts for building residences and offices in the new cantonment. Kanehia Lal, *tarikh-e-lahore* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2001[1884]), pp. 94-95. The shrines of Ali Hajweri and Mian Mir can be cited as examples of this new pattern of repairing in Lahore. Ali Hajweri's centuries old shrine was destroyed by the Sikhs. Later on, a contractor built a simple square structure on the grave. Its dome was sponsored by a *sadhu*, Nur Muhammad, while the rest of the structure was patronized by a medical doctor, Muhammad Hussain, and a government official (*daroga*) Fazalud din. Repairing of the seventeenth-century shrine of Mian Mir (1550-1635) was sponsored by a British trader, Gibbon; this shrine involved some mirror work, partially decorative patterns and whitewash on outer walls of the shrine. Nur Ahmad Chishti, *tahkeekaty chishti* (Lahore: Al-Faisal Publishers, 2006 [1867]), pp.505, 819, 857-8. The contractors used whitewash on fresco work for renovating the walls, simple bricks instead of traditional small bricks, and less use of white marble, red stone and glazed tiles, as compared to the pre-colonial constructions. For description of a shrine and a mosque, see Lal, *tarikh-e-lahore*, pp. 290-4.

[61]Lindsay Jones, *The Hermeneutics of Sacred Architecture: Experience, Interpretation, Comparison,* Vol. 1, *Monumental Occasions, Reflections on the Eventfulness of Religious Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Centre for the Study of World Religions, 2000), p. xxviii. Also Lindsay Jones, *The Hermeneutics of Sacred Architecture: Experience, Interpretation, Comparison,* Vol. 2, *Hermeneutical Calisthenics, A Morphology of Ritual-Architectural Priorities* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Centre for the Study of World Religions, 2000).

architecture, but the meanings of Muslim identity varied depending upon their experiences and world-view. For analytical purposes, I will broadly categorize these responses with respect to devotional communities, modernist Muslims, puritanical Muslims, and the British.

2.3.1. Devotional Communities

Devotional communities, concentrated mainly in small towns and villages, and comprised of artisans, cultivators, teachers and to a less extent traders and government employees, used the term *darbar* (palace) for Sufi shrines because they considered a shrine similar to a royal palace.[62] For them, a shrine mediated between the metaphysical and material worlds, and symbolized Islam. I will give two examples of shrine reception in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the first one is Nur Ahmad Chishti (1829-1868) and the other is Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi (b.1856).

Noor Ahmad Chishti belonged to a prominent family of *ulema,* who tutored the nobles of Lahore such as Ranjeet Singh and the sons of his *wazir*, Faqir Azizuddin. Being a follower of Chishti Sufis (Suleman Taunsvi and another Sufi in Karnal district, Faizullah Shah Sakin),

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[62]For instance, a king lives as sole-authority in his palace with a hierarchical structure, a Sufi also lives in his shrine "as a master of the house", with a hierarchical structure comprising Sufis , *khalifa* and *mureeds*. A Chishti Sufi, Diya al-Din Nakhshabi (d.1350), describes it as: "imagine the poor body as the form of a dwelling, but know the spirit in it as master of the house". Quoted in Scott Kugle, *Sufi and Saints' Bodies: Mysticism, Corporeality, & Sacred Power in Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), p. 47. A king has the power to meet the material needs of his ruled; similarly, a Sufi would also satisfy temporal and mystic needs of his followers through *baraka.* Like in a king's palace, one has to observe particular *adab* during the pilgrimage of a shrine. According to another Chishti tradition, shrines were the "places where the great ones [Sufis] were married to God and where others [visitors] can find access to God, through remembering those who remembered God with their whole being". Carl W. Ernst and Bruce B. Lawrence, *Sufi Martyrs of Love: The Chishti Order in South Asia and Beyond* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2002), p. 2. For *adab* literature in colonial Punjab, see Sanaullah Panipati (1731-83), *gulistan-e-talibeen,* trans. Muhammad Abid Hussain Saifi, *irshadut-talibeen* (Islamabad: Maktab-e-Shirazi, 2002); Sheikh Ziauddin Suharwardi, *adab-ut-murideen,* trans. Muhammad Abdul Basit (Lahore: Tasawuuf Foundation, 1998). We also find a number of Sufi writings which criticize the construction of shrines. For this aspect, see Schimmel, *Deciphering the Signs of God*, p. 54.

Chishti's writings show strong influences of his Sufi-masters. He was not in favour of *jihad,* rather was more concerned with the vanishing Islamic culture and moral degeneration among the Indian Muslims. Soon after the annexation of Punjab by the British, Chishti began teaching languages such as Persian and Urdu to the British officers.[63] Several British officers prompted him to write a history of Lahore, and a few of them reviewed his works in contemporary journals. I will discuss one of his books, *tahkeekaty chishti* (researches of Chishti),[64] to show how this follower of Sufism, who interacted with colonial administrators, imagined his "cultural identity" by narrating the details of nineteenth-century monuments (including Sufi shrines) in Lahore. Chishti makes twelve sections in his book, in which he broadly divides political history into the "Hindu", "Islamic" and "Sikh" periods. From the 5th section till 12th, he explains histories of several Sufis, their shrines, tombs of kings (especially the Mughals), gardens, mosques, and dedicates a small portion for the Hindu temples, and the Sikh *Gurdwaras* and *Samathes*. The book was published in 1867, the year he died.

The theme of *yadgaar* (memory or memorial) resurrects in Chishti's explanation of old buildings. While commenting on the destruction of mosques, shrines and palaces during the Sikh rule, he opines that it does not suit kings to demolish old buildings because these are the *yaadgar* of our past emperors.[65] When "we" see them, we are surprised by their planning and hard work; these tombs and shrines must have been worth watching when first built, but now the Sikhs have erased the signs of "our" glorious rulers.[66] For Noor Chishti, Sufis are not

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[63]In 1864, his students were reported to be 2,000 which could be an exaggeration. He tutored Richard Temple (then commissioner of Lahore), Edward Thornton (Commissioner Punjab), Lord Lawrence (Lt. Governor Punjab), and C.U. Atchison (Lt. Governor Punjab).
[64]Chishti, *tahkeekaty chishti*.
[65]Ibid., p. 866.
[66]Chishti gives details of those shrines and mosques which were destroyed and plundered by the Sikhs. Some of these buildings included shrines of Ali Hajweri, *khanqah* of Mullah Shah, Khwaja Bihari, tomb of Jahangir, see Ibid., pp. 814, 863, 865-6, 925-6.

dead, in fact, they live in the shrines, and can hear and speak. He consistently refers to the miracles of Sufis who were apparently dead but guided their followers.[67] As Sufis are friends of God, an attack on their shrines is an attack on Islam.[68] In this way, he links the destruction of shrines with the "loss of Muslim identity".

For Nur Ahmad Chishti, the British deserve praise because they respect the shrines and return many of them to Muslims, which were either in the possession of other communities or colonial officials. At some places, he mentions that a few shrines were occupied by the British administrators, without indicating his reaction but this identification itself records his protest. In other words, Chishti's appreciation for the British rulers was due to their respect for local traditions and reverence they showed towards Sufism. The British believed Sufis' miracles as fabricated and superstitious but Chishti's book does not mention any such reaction from the British. It shows a different type of dialogue between the British and the locals. The colonial strategies of survival, which involved the restoration of shrines and mosques, were perceived as a sign of respect for Sufi values and traditions by the locals.

The example of Nur Ahmad Chishti's relation with the British officials is similar to Nile Green's study of Muslim soldiers in the British army.[69] Green portrays a complex picture of Muslim soldiers' relationship with *fakir* (holy men) in the mid nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Deccan. The soldiers believed that they and their British officers were protected by the *baraka* of *fakir*. This belief resulted in following certain rituals, and re-imagining and sharing the miraculous stories if Sufis in the military barracks. Here, too, we

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[67]For instance, see his description about Shah Hussain, see Ibid., pp. 307-346.
[68]Ibid., p. 925.
[69]Nile Green, *Islam and the Army in Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

see how people believing in the blessing powers of *fakir* interacted with the British without compromising on their tradition.

My second example is Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi, a noted scholar of devotional community and Sufi of Qadriyya orientation.[70] He lived in Rai Bareilly, the United Provinces, but his frequent visits to Punjab attracted a large following and popularized his ideas in the region. For him, the building of shrine was a worldly embodiment of a Sufi controlling various functions of the universe. So a shrine was not strictly the heritage of the past but a source of *baraka,* a centre for disseminating religious knowledge, and a spiritual space from where a Sufi controlled temporal authorities and the systems of universe.[71] Thus, an attack on a shrine was an attack on Muslim community as a whole.

Barelwi's teachings were hardly new in Punjab. But in the nineteenth century, the emphasis on Sufis as inheritors of prophetic heritage had a far-reaching impact. It was hardly possible for colonial knowledge (centred around science, Positivism, Utilitarianism, Naturalism) to significantly influence the devotional communities without challenging the Sufi's concept of shrine. Anything associated with the Sufi-master was deemed Islamic and any tradition rejecting such association was considered *fitna* and un-Islamic, hence to be avoided and resisted. In this way, the shrines functioned as an ideological space for the devotional communities in Punjab. Usha Sanyal shows the political implications of Barelwi's message;

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[70]For Ahmad Raza Khan's mystic ideas, see Muhammad Raza-ul-Hasan Qaderi, *imam ahmed raza or tasawwuf* (Lahore: Samiullah Barkat, 2007).

[71]He claimed that Sufis had a power to see by the light of God (*nur-e-khuda*), they could be asked for help not only at their shrines but also any other place. Such powers increased on Friday nights, one could communicate with other deceased personalities, asking the devotional community to visit the shrines on Friday nights. Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi, *rohaoun ki dunya, hayat-ul-maut fi bayaan samaul amwat* (Lahore: Hashim and Hammad, n.d.).

his disciples vigorously worked for the Islamic revival and separate state in the twentieth century.[72]

2.3.2. Modernist Muslim Reformists

Modernist Muslim reformists, mainly concentrated in the United Provinces, strongly influenced Punjab, especially Delhi and adjoining districts. They tried to reconcile colonial and Islamic knowledge. For them, Indian Muslims could only progress by accepting the British as their new rulers and adopting European education. Many of these modernists worked for the British; at the same time, the events of 1857 and the subsequent destruction deeply affected them.

After the British occupation of Delhi in 1857, the Sikh soldiers in the army used one of the largest and beautiful mosques in the city, the Jamia Masjid, as their barrack for five years (illustration 18). A Hindu purchased a portion of another mosque, the Zeenatul mosque, and made it into a bakery shop; the mosque was returned to the Muslims after twenty years (illustration 19). The British completely destroyed many buildings in the Lal Qila (Red Fort), while others were converted into hospital and barracks. Everything including mosques, *khanqahs,* and houses within the radius of 448 yards outside the fort were completely flattened.[73] A famous Urdu poet, Mirza Ghalib (1797-1869), wrote to his friend in 1860:

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[72]Usha Sanyal, *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi and his Movement, 1870-1920* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 297-301 (for his anti-British stance), 302-27 (for the role of his followers in the struggle for an Islamic state). Francis examines how religious beliefs among the Muslim elites in the United Provinces combined with other social and economic causes which led to the politics based on religion leading to the partition of the subcontinent. Francis Robinson, *Separatism among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims, 1860-1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

[73]For the events of 1857, see Robinson, *Islam and Muslim History in South Asia*, pp. 147-51*;* Kim A. Wagner, *The Great Fear of 1857: Rumours, Conspiracies and the Making of the Indian Uprising* (Oxshire: Peter Lang, 2010).

> Some of the biggest and most famous bazaars--- Khas Bazar, Urdu Bazar--- each of which was principally a small town, have gone without trace. You cannot even tell, where they were. Householders and shopkeepers cannot point out to you where their houses and shops used to stand.[74]

The *khanqah* of Shah Kalimullah and Mirza Jaan-e-Jahaan, which were the centres of Sufi revivalism in the early nineteenth century, were erased without a sign. In August 1859, the British permitted the local Muslims to return to Delhi, but until 1900, the inhabitants within the walled city remained less than two thousand. Reflecting upon this situation, Ghalib wrote in 1861, "Delhi people now mean Hindus, or artisans, or soldiers, or Punjabis or Englishmen… By God, Delhi is no more a city, but a camp, a cantonment".[75]

Against this background, the modernist Muslims perceived shrines, palaces and mosques as their "heritage" and symbols of Muslim rule in India. This aspect is important because the All-India Muslim League used architecture in defining Indian Muslims as a "nation" in the anti-colonial struggle in the twentieth century.[76] Here, I will give the examples of Syed Ahmad Khan (b.1817), Khwaja Altaf Hussain Hali (1837-1914) and Syed Muhammad Latif (1851-1902), who saw shrines and other buildings as symbolizing Muslim identity.

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[74]Ralph Russell and Khurshidul Islam (trans. & eds.) *Ghalib 1797-1869, Life and Letters,* Vol. I (London: Allen & Unwin, 1969), p. 288.
[75]Ibid., p. 252.
[76]In 1940, MRT (Pseud) argued to include the UP in Pakistan because its was "a centre of Muslim culture and civilization in the past; its historical mosques, places, mausoleums and gardens still remind[ed] one of the grandeur of Muslim architecture in the past". MRT (Pseud), "Pakistan Scheme and the Sikhs: North-Western India Distinct from Hindustan" reprinted in Verinder Grover & Ranajana Arora (eds.), *Political System in Pakistan: Genesis of Pakistan,* Vol. I (Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1995), p. 76. Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, claimed in 1942, "We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral code, customs and calendar, history and tradition, aptitudes and ambitions…". Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan* (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1969), p. 212.

Syed Ahmad Khan's ancestors served in the Mughal court and he was an employee of the EIC.[77] Belonging to the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi Sufi tradition, he was influenced by al-Gazzali (1058-1111) and Ibn-e-Arabi.[78] In his book, *asaarul sanadeed* (1848), Syed viewed shrines, mosques and palaces as the heritage of Indian Muslims. In his project of exploring the archaeological sites of Delhi, Syed Ahmad collected details of nineteen localities and fortresses by broadly dividing them into "Hindu" and "Muslim" monuments. He recorded minute details of each building and mentioned some of the Persian inscriptions, which described the beauty of the monuments.[79] If Suleman Taunsvi and his followers believed that architecture had a relation to Persian Sufi literature, Syed Ahmad also perceived monuments in the same way.

In 1857, Syed Ahmad was serving in the EIC in Bijnor, and helped in the rescue of local European population from the troubled areas. He was forced to move to Meerut by the army of Nawab Mahmud Khan. There Syed heard about the destruction of his family property by the British troops, who also killed his uncle and cousin. This grief "turned his hair white" and he thought about leaving India.[80] Such personal experiences and the condition of ransacked cities, especially Delhi, strongly influenced his thoughts and he began to see Muslims as a community targeted by the British.

Against this background Syed Ahmad Khan and his other contemporaries began to perceive Sufi shrines as Islamic cultural heritage and monuments of lost glory. Syed Ahmad visited

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[77]G.F.I. Graham, *The Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan* (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1885).

[78]Syed Ahmad Khan attempted to interpret the *Quran* and the prophet's traditions by using philosophies such as naturalism and positivism but such interpretations were very unpopular among the Muslims. Even his close friends disputed such views.

[79]For instance, about a palace built by Sultan Moizuddin Kai Kobad in 1286, he quoted a Sufi poet, Amir Khusruh, who called it a paradise.

[80]Altaf Hussain Hali, *hayat-e-javeed* (Lahore: Ain-e-Adab, 1966 [1902]).

Punjab in the 1880s to propagate his ideas of "Muslim nation" and attracted many prominent local personalities who held similar views.[81] In his lecture at Ludhiana, he claimed that the Muslim nation was a spiritual (*rohani*) one based on religion, rather than race or geographical location. The Muslim nation had a glorious past, one could find great works of Muslim rulers in the form of mosques, *khanqah,* and *imam bargah* (Shia worship places).[82]

Altaf Hussain Hali's experiences of the events of 1857 were not different from Syed Ahmad's. Hali lived in a *qasbah* of Panipat and came to Delhi in 1854 where he took up a government job and was subsequently posted in Hissar. When the mutiny broke out, he returned to his hometown and was robbed during the journey. He was too shocked to take up any work until 1861.[83] Like Syed Ahmad, Hali was also deeply affected by the slaughter and the destruction of royal buildings and the shrines in Delhi. In 1874, Hali expressed his views in a *mushaira* (poetry reading): "Harken to me, do not go into the ruins of Delhi. At every step priceless pearls lie buried beneath the dust … times have changed as they can never change again".[84]

In the 1880s, Altaf Hussain Hali wrote his famous poetry book, *musadis-e-hali,* about the flow and ebb of Islam.[85] The poetry was introduced in many *madaris* and Sufi *khanqah.* Like many Sufis, he believed moral degradation and a distance from the religion to be the basic

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[81]For details of his meetings with different personalities in Punjab, see Maulvi Syed Iqbal Ali, *Syed Ahmad Khan ka safarnama-e-Punjab* (Aligarh: Aligarh Institute, 1884), p.8, for the lecture in Ludhiana, pp. 12-3.

[82]In 1885, when the Indian National Congress was founded, Syed Ahmad criticized it as a Hindu organization and established the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association in 1893. Those Muslims who defined "Islamic heritage", "Muslim culture", preferred "separate" political organization while puritanical *ulema,* who questioned the notion of Islamic architecture, supported the Congress.

[83]Laurel Steele, "Hali and his *Muqaddamah:* The Creation of a Literary Attitude in the Nineteenth-Century India", *Annual of Urdu Studies,* Vol. I, 1981, pp. 1-45.

[84]Quoted in Robinson, *Islam and Muslim History in South Asia,* p. 149.

[85]Altaf Hussain Hali, *musadis-e-hali, mado-jazar-e-islam* (Delhi: Hafiz Muhammad Azizuddin, 1889), pp. 19-20, 24-5, 27-8, 47.

causes of the "Muslim decline" in India. While explaining the glorious past of Muslims, Hali identified Sufi shrines, *khanqah* and architecture as significant features of Muslim culture. Architecture, especially of Andalusia, was a sign of Muslim glory, which had no parallel in any other region. Like Taunsvi and Syed Ahmad, Hali used Sufi *khanqah*, shrines and mosques to symbolize Muslim identity. In the 1930s, Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938), poet, scholar and political leader, also presented a similar argument to make a case for a Muslim state.[86]

Modernist Muslims, who did not experience the Sikh rule and the mutiny of 1857, were not spared from this loss of pride. Syed Muhammad Latif is an interesting example. In the second half of the nineteenth century, his writings effectively provided a large corpus for constructing "Muslim" heritage and identity. Latif did not associate himself with any Sufi tradition; he belonged to a family which was foremost in introducing printing technology in Lahore.[87] He extensively wrote about the history of Punjab by relying on colonial documents such as archaeological reports, travelogues and British histories.[88] Like his contemporaries, Latif constructs his history into four broad periods: Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and British. At times, he criticizes Muslim rulers for their narrow mindedness, hatred against the Hindus, and

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[86] See Aziz Ahmad, "Iqbal's View on Islamic Architecture", *Illustrated Weekly of Pakistan* (16 April 1950), p. 17. Also see Iqbal's poem, "Masjid-e-Qurtaba" (Cordova mosque).

[87] His father, Syed Muhammad Azim, was a journalist who went to Delhi and then England for acquiring training in printing technology. In 1849, he returns to Lahore and founded first English newspaper in Punjab, the *Lahore Chronicle* which later on became *Civil and Military Gazette.* He also initiated a newspaper in vernacular. Latif was born in 1851, and completed his education from the University of Calcutta. Well-versed in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, Latif adopted his father's profession of journalism but soon was appointed as a reader in the Punjab Chief Court. In 1902, he was appointed as a judge at the Punjab Chief Court, but died before joining this new assignment.

[88] His publications include, *Agra, Historical and Descriptive with an Account of Akbar and His Court and of the Modern City of Agra* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2003 [1896]); *The Early History of Multan* (Multan: Beacon Books, reprinted, [1891]); *tarikh-e-punjab ma halaat-e-share lahore* (Lahore: Gohar Publications, reprinted, [1891]); *Lahore, its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities, with an Account of its Modern Institutions, inhabitants, their trade, customs, & c.* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, reprinted [1892]).

the destruction of temples. Like Syed Ahmad and Hali, Latif views architecture as representative of "Muslim" identity. He gives details of Sufi shrines and explains how the Sikhs destroyed these buildings and killed Muslims because of their hatred. So, the destruction of shrines and palaces became synonymous with the attack on Islam.

2.3.3. Puritanical Muslims

In the late nineteenth century, several movements, such as the Ahl-e-Hadith and Ahl al-Quran, emerged among Muslims, which influenced some urban centres in Punjab. The Ahl-e-Hadith favoured a literal interpretation of the *Quran* and the prophetic traditions by rejecting the knowledge developed by religious scholars over the previous 1300 years. They were pan-Islamic in orientation, developed their association with likeminded factions in Afghanistan and Arabia. Most of them either came from or had close linkages with the local elites such as the Mughals, Syeds, *nawabs* of Awadh and well-off *zamindars.* Many of them were in government services or administration of the princely states.[89] Instead, the Ahl al-Quran argued to focus on the literal interpretation of the *Quran* only.[90]

Both these movements considered Sufi institutions (shrines, *khanqah, mela*) as an addition to religion (*bidat*). For them, the revival of Islam was only possible by rejecting all rituals associated with Sufism, including shrine construction, shrine pilgrimage, prostration on

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[89]In Punjab, notable leaders of the Ahl-i-Hadith movement were Abdul Manan Wazirabadi, Muhammad Hussain Batalawi, Sanaullah Amritsari and Mualana Abdullah Ghaznawi. Naushaharawi's biographical dictionary provides very useful insights about the composition of main proponents of this movement and their background. Some of them were reduced to poverty because of the colonial rule; for instance, Mualana Nazir Hussain whose family was judge in the Mughal court, and Nawab Siddiq Hassan Khan who had impoverished life before his two marriages in the ruling families of the Bhopal state. Abu Yahya Imam Khan Naushaharawi, *Tarajim-i-Ulama yi- Hadis-i-Hind* (Lahore: Markazi Jamiyyat-i-Talabahyi Ahl-i-Hadis, 1971 [1937]).

[90]Important leaders of this movement were Maulwi Abdullah Chakralawi, Khwaja Ahmad-uddin Amritsari and Ghulam Ahmad Parwez. Ali Usman Qasmi, *Questioning the Authority of the Past: The Ahl al-Quran Movements in the Punjab* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012).

graves, making portraits of Sufis, invocation of *baraka,* etc. They also demanded their followers not to visit the shrine of the prophet Muhammad in Madina. Although they respected Sufis yet due to their criticism of Sufi shrines, they were involved in heated debates with the devotional communities and *ulema*. In nineteenth-century Punjab, the Ahl-e-Hadith and the Ahl al-Quran could not become popular vis-à-vis the shrine-based communities, because they relied on print culture and had no social occasion (such as Sufi festivals) to disseminate their ideas.

2.3.4. British Perception of Shrines

Initially, the British saw Sufi shrines as potential centres of political activities, which led to the destruction of many shrines especially in Delhi in the aftermath of the mutiny of 1857.[91] When the colonial state firmly established its political control in the second half of the nineteenth century and militant movements died out, the officials' perception of shrines began to change and these places were reported to be peaceful and harmless.[92] Despite occasional intervention by British officials in shrines to resolve internal disputes, the shrines and *khanqah* that were located in *qasbahs* operated independently of the state.[93]

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[91]The Sufi community in district DG Khan was suspected by the British officials of attacking a British administrator. F.W.R. Fryer, *Final Report on the First Regular Settlement of the Dera Ghazi Khan District, in the Derajat Division, 1869-1874 AD* (Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1876), p. 50. The British also revoked the *waqf* grants for the maintenance of shrines. However, in Punjab this policy could not be executed evenly to maintain the status-quo and avoid any chance of revolt.

[92]*Punjab Castes*, pp. 224-6, 229-30.

[93]For instance, the popular shrines were located in the towns of Taunsa (district Dera Ghazi Khan), Sial Sharif (district Shahpur), Jalalpur (district Jhelum), and Golra (district Rawalpindi), but these were not important in colonial context. Instead, the British promoted towns such as Lyallpur, Montgomery and Khanewal, to increase agricultural production. Farina Mir, *The Social Space of Language: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab* (London: University of California Press, 2010), p. 111. Also see Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism, 1885-1947* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989).

There are several possible ways of reading nineteenth-century colonial archaeological reports and architectural commentaries on Indian buildings. One is Thomas Metcalf's, which suggests that the colonial documentation substantiated the dominating theories of European superiority. Inspired by Bernard Cohn and Edward Said, several postcolonial scholars construct such arguments by over-emphasizing the hegemonic colonial agenda and the European experience of the British officials but they almost entirely overlook the undercurrents in the colony. Here I study colonial documents within the context of colony (Punjab) where *jihadi*, reformist and revivalist movements by Sufis, modernist or puritanical Muslim scholars debated various aspects of Sufi shrines, to stress a distinctive cultural identity.

The British were well-aware of the *jihad* movements and the use of religion for reorganizing the Muslim population in Bengal, United Provinces and Punjab. Through a decree in 1813, the British parliament bounded the EIC to support the activities of the Christian missionaries.[94] Public debates and disputes among the Hindus (particularly Brahmans), Muslims and Christian missionaries became part of Indian life.[95] The element of religion intermixed with political power and economic interests and became more significant in the relationship of the British and the locals. This situation also influenced the perceptions of the British about the local religious identities, as reflected in James Mill's work.[96]

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[94]In the eighteenth century, the EIC was hostile to the Christian missionaries in northern India. John Brown Myers, *William Carey, The Shoemaker who became "The Father and Founder of Modern Missions"* (New York and Chicago: Fleming T. Rebell Company, 1887), pp. 54, 87. While in the South, the company supported them, see John Rutherfurd, *Missionary Pioneers in India* (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1896), p. 66.

[95]For some examples, see Rutherfurd, *Missionary Pioneers in India*, pp. 73, 75.

[96]James Mill's *History of India* appeared in several volumes between 1806 and 1818. It is allegedly the first colonial work which divided the Indian history into the "Hindu", "Mahomedans" and the "British" periods. Elliot's and Dowson's previously cited edited works followed the same periodization.

Against this background, the British scholars who were interested in architecture and archaeology, classified the local buildings into the Hindu and Muslim periods. The examples of James Fergusson (1808-1886) and Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893) can be cited here. Fergusson and Cunningham approached their subject matter with different methodologies; the former's work was the beginning of the colonial discipline of architectural studies, while the latter systematized the discipline of archaeology in India through the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). However, both laid emphasis on science, reason and universal standards, and used chronological histories for studying the relationship between civilization and architecture.[97] In other words, if the shrine-based communities and the modernist Muslims associated Muslim identity with shrines, the British also did so but in a different way.

In the 1850s, James Fergusson, a Scot with an ordinary school education, published his two-volume work on architecture in various parts of the world. He classified architecture on the basis of faith and mentioned regional and racial influences on the styles of buildings. About Saracenic/Mahometan (Muslim) architecture, he argued that over time, due to the interaction of "the community of religion", a "style was elaborated, tolerably homogenous, though never losing entirely those local peculiarities".[98] According to Fergusson, Indian Muslim architecture was a mixture of Tartar and Hindu styles, and in the Muslim world it was close to Persian tradition. He noted that in India, "mosques are attached to the tombs; the latter being by far the noblest and most important buildings now found in India, and those which

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[97]Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories*, pp. 3-42.

[98]James Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture: Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Style of Architecture prevailing in all Ages and Countries*, Vol. I (London: John Murray, 1855), pp. 378-9. He divided Muslim architecture into six styles, Syrian, Egyptian, Persian, Indian, Spanish and Turkish.

give form and character to the style".[99] He opined that the tradition of constructing highly decorative and large tombs could suffer due to the decline of Muslim political power.[100] He called this decline in politics, architecture and civilization the "inverted evolution". In his works, as Guha-Thakurta has pointed out, "the architecture became the mirror of history, civilization and morals … The attachment of history to monuments involved a kind of anticipation of meaning, where the specific (the concrete structure, minutely observed and noted) was continuously abstracted into a general analytical formula regarding the development and decline of forms".[101]

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Alexander Cunningham, a Scot army engineer with an interest in archaeology, visited various parts of India including Punjab and recorded minute details of ancient monuments on "scientific basis". Later on, his findings were published as *Archaeological Survey of India.* In chronological order, the monuments were identified as belonging to either "Hindu" or "Muhammadan" periods.[102] While describing the shrine of Pir Kayanath in Bhera (district of Shahpur), he understood it "just like a very common Muhammadan tomb, with a single dome and one small door".[103] About a *serai* in Sultanpur, he says: "the Badshahi serai is a large enclosure…a very unusual arrangement in a

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[99]Ibid., p. 413.
[100]"For this, there is now in India no Moslem monarch with means sufficient to attempt an erection of this kind, and if such an attempt were made, it probably would be adorned with Italian details in the worst possible taste, and be more an emblem of the utter degradation of the race than a monument capable of conveying to posterity an idea of their greatness or power". Ibid., p. 444.
[101]Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories*, pp. 17-8.
[102]For instance, he uses the term "Hindu Dilli" (Delhi) for describing the monuments in ancient India. Alexander Cunningham, *Archeological Survey of India, Four Reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65*, Vol. I (Simla: Government Central Press, 1871), pp. 160-1.
[103]Alexander Cunningham, *Archeological Survey of India, Report of a tour in the Punjab in 1878-79*, Vol.XIV (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1882), p. 40.

Muhammadan building. I have a strong suspicion, therefore, that the walls of the *serai* must have been built on the foundations of an old Buddhist monastery".[104]

For Cunningham, the destruction of monuments during invasions showed volatile conflicts between different religious communities.[105] At the same time, invasions inaugurated new trends of architecture in India. This idea of invasion re-invigorating a decadent civilization was redolent of the Hegelian dialectics, in which history moves in a linear, rational and logical way leading to the dominance of "higher synthesis" or superior nation.[106] The result of this documentation was the articulation of the idea of "national" monuments associated with various religious communities (Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs).

Even within the professional community of architects, the categories of Muslim/Hindu architecture were conventional. For instance, one British architect who visited India, presented a paper on architecture at the Royal Institute of British Architects. About the old sites in Delhi, he commented: "[here] the Musselmen manifested his supposed superiority over the Hindoo, eclipsing the temple by a mosque, intended to surpass the Hindoo work by its size as well as beauty of its decoration. That the Musselmen have surpassed what is left of the Hindoo work at that spot". Buildings initially constructed by Muslim, "[are] Mahomedan in general design, [but] almost all Hindoo in their decorative detail …[due to the shortage of

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[104]Ibid., p. 56, also see description of a mosque in Sadhora, pp. 72-4.
[105]For discussion on this aspect, Cunningham, *Archeological Survey of India, Four Reports*, Vol. I, pp. 161-77.
[106]Hegel predicted that because of the weaknesses of Eastern empires, Europeans would dominate them, and the EIC would rule over India and China. G.W.F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1991), pp. 142-3.

trained craftsmen from Central Asia]…the later buildings show more of the Mahomedan style of decoration…".[107]

Fergusson's, Cunningham's and William Simpson's perspectives on Indian architecture associated with religion highlight the sensitivity of the British about the process of identity formation and conflicts in the colony. For the British, the fact that old buildings were built and destroyed by the communities of different faiths thus showed a deep religious divide. Keeping in view the situation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, their observation was not inaccurate. The Sikhs, Mughals, Marathas, and the Sufis used religious slogans in their wars against each other, and in most of the cases, attacked the religious buildings of their enemies. However, the formulations of such perspectives justified the British intervention to halt the process of decay by stabilizing India. In the next two chapters, I will discuss how the British tried to reform the degenerating artisanal skills through art education, architectural projects, colonial exhibitions and museums.

2.4. Sufi *Mela* at Shrines

In nineteenth-century Punjab, the devotional communities celebrated death anniversaries of Sufis at almost every shrine attracting people from other religions as well. Sometimes, such events were called *mela* (festive activity) or *urs* (marriage). In the Sufi tradition, death of a Sufi was a festive activity because the lover (Sufi) met with the beloved (God). Sufi *mela* reflects the uneven reception of intended meanings of Sufi ideas and shrines. During such events, shrines also became the sites for entertainment. I will examine one *mela, chiragon ka*

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[107]William Simpson, "On the Architecture of India", Read at the Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects, May 19, 1862, in *Papers read at the Royal Institute of British Architects, Session 1860-61* (London: Royal Institute of British Architects, 1861), p. 175.

mela (festival of lighting lamps) held at the shrine of Shah Hussain (1538-99), located in Baghbanpura (Lahore), to explain this aspect.[108]

The devotees used to spend the whole night at Shah Hussain's shrine in prayers, discussing the Sufi and his miracles, and in lighting lamps. The next day, they moved to a nearby historic Mughal garden, Shalamar, and got themselves involved in amusement and entertainment. A few men participated in the event with *kanchini* (derogatory term for prostitutes).[109] At the site, the performances of dancing and singing girls attracted many pilgrims, sometimes an exclusive music party was organized for a selected few (comprising elite and rich people). Such music parties and girls' dance (*mujra)* were usual at other shrines in Lahore, like that of Ali Hajweri.[110] Along with that snake-charmers, tight-rope walkers mainly girls, quail fighting, and performances by various trained animals, especially monkeys and goats, were also a source of entertainment. Not all pilgrims were involved in amusement; in fact, many of them offered prayers and recited folklore (such as *heer ranjha* and *sohni mahiwal*). In small gatherings, *fakirs* and their followers discussed mysticism. Dances on drums, whirling dance of *fakirs* and *haal,* attracted men and women alike, who performed such acts to show their reverence for the Sufi tradition.

Another such *mela*, called *kadmoun ka mela*, was held at the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar, at Anarkali bazaar in Lahore. This festival was equally entertaining featuring swings (*jhula*) and competition of weightlifting. Vendors sold toys, sweets and other food items. Women visited

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[108]John Campbell Oman recorded these observations in 1880s in his book *Indian life, Religious and Social*. He revised and published them in Oman, *Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908), pp. 209-15.
[109]Chishti, *yaadgar-e-chisti*, pp. 183-4.
[110]Oman, *Indian Life, Religious and Social*, pp. 261-3. Also Ibid., p. 181.

this *mela* to participate in a ritual to make their children safe from evils and diseases.[111] Such festive activities commonly took place at other shrines; for instance, in Dera Ghazi Khan district, men and women alike dressed in new clothes, mounted on camels covered with highly colourful clothes, reached Sufi shrines and amused themselves with activities such as singing, dancing, wrestling, horse-racing, etc. On these occasions, the colonial administrators resolved local disputes, which could be easily addressed at shrines than in the law courts.[112] Most of these entertaining activities such as *mujra* and performances of trained animals were unacceptable to Sufis and *ulema*, suggesting contestations to Sufi ideas and objectives of shrines, which were meant to invoke *baraka* by performing various rituals.

Several *mela* were strictly controlled by the custodians of shrines, especially those where the Sufi had died recently and had a large number of immediate followers. At the shrine of Suleman Taunsvi, Sufis such as Allah Baksh Taunsvi, Shamsuddin Siyalvi and Muhammad Din Siyalvi disseminated Sufi teachings in a more informed way through lectures, *dhikr* and *sama*. Taunsvi's followers believed that their visit to the shrine on the occasion would invoke *baraka*. Chishti reports about other shrines in Lahore, where the *mela* were strictly organized according to the teachings of reformist Chishti Sufis; female dancers were not allowed to perform; and the custodians organized parties of *dhikr* and lectures on Sufism.[113] Some sections among the reformist Sufis criticized festivals at Sufi shrines, pilgrimage to shrines,

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[111]Oman, *Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India*, p. 216.
[112]F.W.R. Fryer, *Final Report on the First Regular Settlement of the Dera Ghazi Khan District*, p. 52.
[113]Sufi festivals at the shrines of Mualvi Ibraheem Chishti (d. 1195 Hijra) Moalvi Ghulam Hussain Chishti (d. 1260 Hijra), Miran Badshah (d. 1013 Hijra) can be cited as examples. See Chishti, *yaadgar-e-chishti*, pp. 64-5, 182-3.

construction of shrine buildings, lighting at the shrines, prostration on graves, celebration of death anniversaries of Sufis.[114] However, they had very limited influence in Punjab.

We find partial details about the reception of Sufi festivals in colonial documents which mention the attendance of various religious communities and reverence of the Sufi or shrine.[115] In the 1880s, John Oman, a professor of science living in Lahore, recorded his observations about the Sufi *mela* of Shah Hussain. He found the *mela* entertaining, but some aspects of it such as dancing and performances of trained animals, the demand by "idle fellows" for alms and *haal* dance unpleasant and painful.[116] William Crooke and an English lady (Mrs Ali) also express similar views about the shrines in north India[117] and Lucknow.[118] Both appreciated the enthusiasm and sense of celebrations among the participants, but this entertainment involved mundane activities, inhumane treatment of animals and human beings. In this way, Crook and Mrs Ali characterized *mela* as uncivilized event.

Despite subversions and resistances the popular spaces of *mela* were more accessible to the Sufis than other communities and whenever the shrine establishment wished, they directed the visitors to perform in a certain way. As compared to other communities, such as the puritanical Muslims and the British, the shrine-based communities effectively disseminated their ideas through the activities such as recitation of folklore, *dikr*, *sama* and lectures by eminent Sufis on these occasions.

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[114]Important among them were Syed Ahmad (d. 1831), Shah Ismael (d. 1831) and Muhammad Qasim Nanautawi (1833-77).
[115]For instance, see Cunningham, *Report of a tour in the Punjab in 1878-79,* p. 40.
[116]Oman, *Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India*, pp. 210, 214.
[117]William Crooke, *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad: Government Printing Press, 1894), pp. 58-60.
[118]Mrs Meer Hasan Ali was married to a Muslim and lived in Lucknow in the first half of the nineteenth-century. Mrs Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India, descriptive of their manners, customs, habits and religious opinions, made during a Twelve Years' Residence in their immediate society* (London: Oxford University Press, 1917, reprinted), pp.370-399 (for superstitions and devotions at shrines).

2.5. Conclusion

This and the previous chapters have been concerned with the Sufi-artisan relationship as expressed in Punjabi folklore and shrine architecture respectively. In the nineteenth century, Sufis attempted to save the Muslim rule through militant struggle and at the same time defined "Muslim" culture. Sufi shrines were one such cultural project which aimed at re-enforcing a distinctive Muslim identity.

The belief of Sufi patrons and their communities clearly show their interest in Persianized and Arabicised Sufi traditions, which led them to continue with the Persian style of architecture. Sufis and artisan-builders associated different mystical meanings to decorative patterns to theoretically reconcile the ideas of architecture and Sufism. Various communities received Sufi shrines in different ways reflecting their beliefs, social and political ideas in a context of revolt and political instability. The devotional communities perceived shrines as *darbar* (palace) from where the Sufi controlled different functions of the temporal world, and people could petition for their needs. The modernist Muslims viewed shrines as symbolizing the identity and the lost of Muslims' glory. The British also viewed shrines as monuments of Muslim rule but they interpreted such buildings to justify their theory of Muslim decay. Unlike Sufis and modernist Muslims, who perceived *khanqah* and shrines as sites for disseminating religious knowledge, the British explained them as sites for engaging general public in superstitious and mundane activities.

Sufi *mela* at shrines were another cultural expression for understanding the multiplicity in the reception of shrines. Shrines became a site for entertainment which involved dance, music, games, etc. These activities subverted the dominant ideas of neo-Sufism and the Victorian sensibility of civility. At the same time, there were some other activities such as recitation of

folktales, discussions on Sufism, lectures by prominent Sufis, *dikr* and *sama* which were meant to re-enforce the Muslim identity, based on the Sufis' world-view.

In the next two chapters, I will compare the Sufi-artisan relationship to the relationship of local artisans to colonial institutions (art school, exhibitions and museum). Was the colonial state able to engage artisans in the same way as the Sufis did? And what kind of ideology did the colonial state attempt to engender in artisanal practices?

CHAPTER 3. ARTISANS, COLONIAL ART EDUCATION AND ARCHITECTURE IN PUNJAB

In nineteenth-century Britain, "culture" was a concept-metaphor to explain the relationship of human beings to artifacts and natural phenomena. Culture also included the meanings of "taste" and "aesthetics", which were considered essential characteristics of a human civilization.[1] David Lloyd and Paul Thomas explain that in Europe from the nineteenth century onwards, culture and state are "given the role of furnishing sites of reconciliation for a civil and political society", Culture and state were also "seen as the sites where the highest expressions of human beings and human freedom are realized" and "hedges against the potential anarchy of rapidly transforming society".[2] A nineteenth-century British cultural critic, Matthew Arnold, explained culture as denoting the "idea of a state" and believed that reforms in cultural practices would form political citizens of a modern state.[3] I will explain in this chapter and the next, how this sense of forming useful citizen by involving artisans with cultural institutions (art schools, exhibitions and museums) became an important consideration of the British officials in nineteenth-century Punjab.

A few South Asian cultural historians have attempted to define the parameters of British cultural policy in nineteenth-century India. Gauri Viswanathan, who examines the teaching of English literature as a tool to project "an image of the ideal Englishman", locates her study in the broad context of the colonial cultural policy designed to present the British as intellectual

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[1]In 1871, Edward Taylor defined culture as a "complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". Edward B. Taylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom,* Vol., I (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1883, reprinted), p. 1.

[2]David Lloyd and Paul Thomas, *Culture and the State* (New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 1. For a discussion on the definition of culture, see p. 2.

[3]Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy, with Friendship's Garland and some Literary Essays*, R.H. Super (ed.), (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1965), p. 135.

and moral leaders as well as serving the political and economic interests of the empire.[4] Pushpa Sunder too contends that the British cultural policy in India was politically motivated, aiming at introducing the European artistic forms.[5] She stresses that ad hoc judgments rather than carefully planned decisions characterized British cultural policy; still the policy always took care of the political and economic interests of the empire. The establishment of art schools, exhibitions and museums in Punjab can be understood within this parameter of colonial cultural policy. This chapter examines the ways the colonial officials engaged artisans through art education and architecture to influence the local artisanal practices. The theoretical assumptions underlying art instruction and architectural undertakings in England were emulated in India. But due to the conditions in Punjab, the colonial cultural projects proved to be a failure in terms of their stated objectives and achievements.

Scholars have expressed different appraisals about the significance of colonial art instruction in India. Partha Mitter argues that the students of art schools, well-trained in the western techniques, "quietly" replaced the traditional artisan-painters. The schools also provided workforce for colonial institutions such as the Public Works Department (PWD) and the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), which increased the number of applicants.[6] Similarly, Saloni Mathur views the art schools in India as a successful venture, despite the "confused approaches" of the administrators towards craft and fine art. The schools introduced "high" Western art among the Indian bourgeoisie, leading to the birth of a separate category of

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[4]Gauri Viswanathan, "Currying Favor: The Politics of British Educational and Cultural Policy in India, 1813-54" in Anne McClinton, Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat (eds.), *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 113-29. Compare Viswanathan's work with Ian Baucom's study, which suggests that the British struggled to define Englishness at home. Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

[5]Pushpa Sunder, *Patrons and Philistines: Arts and the State in British India, 1773-1947* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[6]Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922, Occidental Orientations* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1997), pp. 27-62.

prestigious oil painters, distinct from the "native artisan".[7] Nadeem Tarar argues that the Orientalists' perceptions of the Indian society as being caste-based, tribal and traditional, were reflected in the working of the Mayo School of Arts, Lahore (MSA).[8] For him, the school was a modern disciplinary institution where local artisanal practices were altered to preserve India's past, with the result of preventing social mobility among the artisans.

The underlying theoretical assumptions of these works derive from Edward Said's and Michel Foucault's idea of a nexus between institutions, power and knowledge. Foucault suggests that the institutional practices in the context of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, which aimed to develop skills and habits produced "docile bodies", "so that they may do what one wishes, [and] they may operate as one wishes, with the techniques, the speed and the efficiency that one determines".[9] Several historians of art education explicitly use this concept to show a relationship of power with the art works and instruction.[10] Such works de-emphasize local resistance by arguing that the colonial agenda was executed as intended by the state within the controlled spaces of institutions.

Other scholars account for local resistance to colonial art education in India. Mahrukh Tarapor argues that colonial art education had a limited success because of many limitations,

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[7]Saloni Mathur, *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display* (London: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 92-4.

[8]Nadeem Omar Tarar, "From 'Primitive' Artisans to 'Modern' Craftsmen: Colonialism, Culture, and Art Education in the Late Nineteenth-Century Punjab", *South Asian Studies,* Vol. 27 (2), (September 2010), pp. 199-219.

[9]Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Random House, 1977), p. 138.

[10]Dennis Atkinson, *Art in Education: Identity and Practice* (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), pp. 104-9. Freida High Wasikhongo Tesfagiorgis, "In Search of a Discourse and Critique(s) that Center the Art of Black Women Artists" in Stanlie M. James and Abena P.A. Busia (eds.), *Theorizing Black Feminisms: The Visionary Pragmatism of Black Women* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 228-66. In the colonial context, see Hamid Irbouh, *Art in the Service of Colonialism: French Art Education in Morocco, 1912-1956* (New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2005); Satadru Sen, "The Females Jails of Colonial India" *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, No. 39 (December, 2002), pp. 417-38.

such as contradictory objectives, lack of direction (some schools focused on art while others on crafts), and students' resistance to the learning process.[11] For Tarapor, John Lockwood Kipling encouraged local crafts, and his policies in the MSA contradicted the colonial state's objective of commercialization of Indian crafts.[12] Tapati Guha-Thakurta too suggests an uneven reception of art instruction at the Calcutta School of Arts. The school led to the emergence of artists from the category of artisans, but such artisans could hardly attain better social positions.[13] However, artists from the Bengali middle class, who were trained in the school, opened their own art studios, worked with other art schools, and introduced a western academic style of painting with themes from Hindu mythology. Guha-Thakurta proposes that the students challenged the basic assumptions about Indian art in their curriculum.[14] Arindam Dutta suggests that colonial art schools largely failed to achieve their objectives, except the MSA, which attracted local artisans and established their links with the market. The working of the school reflects the way the colonial state managed the province as an ungoverned territory.[15]

My argument here follows Tarapor, Guha-Thakurta and Dutta. I propose that the MSA deviated from its stated objective of reviving the local crafts and that the theoretical assumptions borrowed from the English art education did not work in Punjab. When the MSA changed its focus from theoretical instruction to the craft workshops, the shift made it

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[11]Mahrukh Keki Tarapor, "Art and Empire: The Discovery of India in Art and Literature, 1851-1947" (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Unpublished PhD dissertation, 1977), pp. 57-107.
[12] Mahrukh Tarapor, "John Lockwood Kipling and British Art Education in India", *Victorian Studies,* Vol. 24 (1), (Autumn 1980), pp. 53-81.
[13]Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *The Making of a New Indian Art: Artists, Aesthetics and Nationalism in Bengal, c.1850-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 12-3, 42.
[14]Tapati Guha-Thakurta, "Recovering the Nation's Art" in Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *Texts of Power: Emerging Disciplines in Colonial Bengal* (Calcutta: Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, 1995), pp. 63-92.
[15]Arindam Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of its Global Reproducibility* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 32-3.

irrelevant to the colonial project of rationalizing the local craft practices and it became a time-wasting exercise for the students who could learn crafts from local artisans. I partially agree with Tarar's assertion that colonial sociology did play some role in the working of the MSA but the Orientalist perception of a caste-based Punjabi society did not stop the management from teaching painting to carpenters, and architectural drawings to blacksmiths. In fact, like in England, the colonial administrators in Punjab treated "artisan" as one single category, which required the same basic theoretical instruction to acquire diverse skills.

This chapter is divided into two sections: the first section discusses various views about the educational reforms and the objectives of art schools in India; the second section looks at the establishment of the MSA, its objectives, curriculum and administrative problems. This section also discusses the architectural projects undertaken by the school for reviving the Indian architectural tradition.

3.1. Art Reforms in India

While studying the development and influence of the Department of Science and Arts (DSA, established in the 1850s), Arindam Dutta argues that Henry Cole and his associates, influenced by the Utilitarian philosophy of Jermy Bentham and James Mill, systematically codified and institutionalized the rational perspective of art.[16] They produced litrature, organized exhibitions, established institutions (such as DSA, South Kingsington Museum, Royal School of Arts), designed curriculum based on the notions of German natural philosophy, and trained art teachers. Cole and his associates laid emphasis on the scientific training of artisans in geometry, drawing and proper use of colours, through an organized system of art instruction for artisans and industrial manufacturers which could improve public

[16]Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty*, pp. 39-154.

taste. Cole's system of art education is popularly known as the South Kensington School System (SKSS). A key concern of the Cole circle was how to increase the "market value" of artisanal and industrial products. One of the ideas that emerged in these debates was that designers should take inspiration from nature rather than ancient art, industrial design should not be too decorative; rather, that decoration should accord with the use of a product. A number of British art critics such as John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Morris (1834 – 1896), voiced criticism of the SKSS.[17] They called for patronage of the lesser arts and considered that mass production and reduction of artists to labourers in the industrial system would lead to the decadence of art.

Debates in England also encouraged several scholars to focus on India and propose reforms in its government and education system. Krishna Kumar problematizes the British reformist agenda as an adult-child relationship in which "the colonizer took the role of the adult, and the native became the child".[18] The main objective of the reforms in education was to make Indians better subjects, capable of understanding the newly emerging social structure (centred around the colonial power), largely defined by liberalism, and to seek their cooperation in strengthening the control of the colonial state.

The British officials, either influenced by Utilitarian or Anglicist views, adopted an ahistoric approach in envisioning the educational reforms. They discredited the local cultures and favoured reforms by keeping in view the developments in England. Utilitarian or Anglicist

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[17]John Ruskin, *The Two Paths: Being Lectures on Art, and its application to Decoration and Manufacture* (New York: John Wiley, 1859), p. 22; In Oxford in the late 1850s, Morris along with his other friends formed "the brotherhood", a "Crusade and Holy Warfare against the age". Morris also instituted Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings. Charles Harvey and Jon Press, *William Morris: Design and Enterprise in Victorian Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991).
[18]Krishna Kumar, *Political Agenda of Education: A Study of Colonialist and Nationalist Ideas* (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2005), p. 26.

views show the desire of the colonial state to expand the network of global trade, and also a cognitive failure on the part of the British policy-makers to understand the complex conditions in India. For instance, both James Mill[19] and Thomas Macaulay[20] argued that the empire could legislate for diverse cultures; reforms in England could also be initiated in India and would be equally successful. This approach was contrary to those of Edmund Burke and William Jones, who contended that the local history and the culture were legitimate sources for legislation.[21] This perspective, sometimes referred to as the "Orientalist" approach, remained influential among the EIC administrators at least until the early nineteenth

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[19]Apart from Jeremy Bentham, James Mill shows some influence of David Hartley's (1704-1757) associationist psychology, which explains that a human mind thinks because of its relation with different ideas. David Hartley, *Observations on Man, His Fame, His Duty, and His Expectations*, Vol. I (London: W. Eyres, 1801, reprinted), pp. 500-12. If Utilitarian ideas were introduced in India through education, it could lead to the individual and collective happiness of the locals. For him, culture was not a product of history, rather it was "exactly in proportion as Utility is the object of every pursuit". James Mill, *The History of British India*, Vol. I (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1817), p. 424. Historicity, for Mill, was not important as he derived this argument from Bentham's principle of the "universal harmony of the laws" in the "legislation for empires". In return for reforming the colony, Mill argued that the capital should fly from India to England. James Mill, *The History of British India*, Vol. III (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1817), p. 719. Also see, Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, 2 Vols. (London: W. Pickering, 1823); John Stuart Mill, *Utilitarianism* (London: Parker, 1863), pp. 8-37 (for his definition of Utilitarianism); John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1859).

[20]Thomas Babington Macaulay, an Anglicist, historian and Whig politician, in his *Minute on Education* (1835), argued for the introduction of western education, free press, and reforms in law and administration. For him: "…a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia...There are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own …". W. Nassau Lees, *Indian Musalmans: Being three letters reprinted from the "Times" with an article on the late Prince Consort, and four articles on education, with an appendix containing Lord Macaulay's Minute* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1871), pp. 91, 93. Later on, "Charles Wood's Despatch" (1854) (attributed to J.S. Mill), proclaimed mass education to be an important feature of the colonial education system. B.D. Basu, *History of Education in India under the Rule of the East India Company* (Calcutta: R. Chatterjee, Modern Review Office, 1920s?), pp. 152-8; For Muslim reformists' perspective, see Syed Mahmood, *A History of English Education in India, its rise, development, progress, present condition and prospects* (Aligarh: M.A.O. College, 1895). Such voices for reforms very soon brought about an extensive network of schools and three universities in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay (established in 1857) under the auspices of the EIC. For the British view about the Indian responses to western education, see George Otto Trevelyan (ed.), *The Competition Wallah* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1864), pp. 408-52.

[21]Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France, and on the Proceedings in certain Societies in London relevant to that Event* (London: J. Dodsley, 1790, 2nd edition); William Jones, *The Works of Sir William Jones*, Vol. VII (London: John Stockdale, 1807), pp. 75-399 (for his discussion on the Hindu laws).

century.[22] However, Mill's Utilitarian philosophy was to dominate the Indian art instruction because the Cole circle took inspiration from it.

Art schools in India had multiple and sometimes contradictory objectives.[23] These objectives were: the moral obligation to refine the tastes of locals; promote the local crafts; provide job opportunities for the locals; underplay a fear of revolt from the locals because of economic exploitation; rationalize the allegedly superstitious local craft practices, etc. Initially, the art schools in India were largely individual initiatives and the EIC had little interest in such projects. These initiatives can be understood by using Karl Marx's critique of the moral responsibility in Utilitarian philosophy. Morality cannot be claimed if it benefits someone in particular; the moral principles should be disinterested, otherwise morality would not be morality.[24] To protect its economic interests, the capitalists use moral grounds for improving public tastes and the general standards of living.[25] The establishment of various art schools in India shows that the claim for moral welfare was closely intertwined with the improvement in designs of local crafts geared to incorporate Indian artisans in the global economy.

A number of individuals initiated a reformist agenda which involved training in design and science to counter the influence of superstitious cultural conventions on the local craft practices. In 1839, Frederick Corbyn, an army surgeon by profession and a staunch Catholic,

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[22]Scholars debate whether the Orientalists', Utilitarians' and Anglicists' approaches to educational reforms were similar or different. For instance see, David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), compare with, Joel Spring, *Education and the Rise of the Global Economy* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Association, 1998), pp. 10-3.

[23]Partha Mitter, "Status and Patronage of Artists During British Rule in India (c. 1850-1900)", in Barbara Stolen Miller (ed.), *The Powers of Art: Patronage in Indian Culture* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 277-300.

[24]Jeffery Reiman, "Moral Philosophy: The Critique of Capitalism and the Problem of Ideology" in Terrell Carver (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Marx* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 143-67.

[25]Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy (The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole)*, Vol.III, Friedrick Engels (ed.) (New York: International Publishers, n.d., [1894]), p. 306.

established the Calcutta Mechanics' Institute and School of Art, "perfectly Catholic in design and application… [for] the improvement and advancement of the Indian community, its art and manufactures".[26] By inculcating mechanical science and useful arts among the locals, Corbyn and his associates envisioned "to wean them [locals] from improper habits, to give to them a character of sobriety and morality".[27] This morally motivated project ended soon.

Similarly, Alexander Hunter, a surgeon resident in Madras, established an art school and then a school of industry in 1850 and 1851, respectively. Hunter's personal initiative focussed on the improvement of local tastes and "crudely and uncouthly" produced local crafts.[28] The EIC and a few other local entrepreneurs hired some of its students, but soon after its establishment, Hunter realized that the students were unable to respond to the instruction. The school had to "entirely remodel" itself to cater to the needs of locals who were more inclined towards learning craft rather than drawing, geometry and other subjects of theoretical instruction.[29] Such re-adjustments continued in the school throughout the nineteenth century, suggesting the constant struggle of the British administrators to adjust themselves in the very different conditions in the colony.

Due to the rapid import of the European goods, anxiety among local traders and artisans increased. By exporting raw material from India and importing finished products (especially

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[26]"Calcutta Mechanics' Institute, and School of Art", *The Calcutta Christian Observer,* Vol. VIII, Jan-Dec, 1839 (Calcutta: The Baptist Mission Press, 1839), p. 120.
[27]"Meeting for the Establishment of a Mechanics Institution and School of Arts" in *The Calcutta Monthly Journal and General Register of Occurrences throughout The British Dominions in the East, forming An Epitome of the Indian Press for the Year 1839* (Calcutta: Samuel Simth and Co., 1840), p. 100.
[28]"Industrial Education in India", *The Journal of the Society of Arts, and of the Institutions in Union,* Vol. 1, Nov. 26, 1852-Nov., 11, 1853 (London: The Society of Arts, 1853), p. 569.
[29]Ibid., p. 570.

textiles) the EIC reduced the local artisans almost to poverty.[30] Between 1794 and 1813 only, there was an increase of almost seven hundred times in exports of cotton products to India. The British parliamentarians were also interested in replacing the Indian manufacturing sector with the British goods, therefore, a negligible duty was imposed on the European imports (almost 2 ½ per cent) and heavy duties (almost 17 ½ per cent) were levied on the import of Indian articles in the 1810s. The EIC became conscious of the grouping of local artisans and traders with the anti-colonial elements, such as Sufis. Fears of revolt by the locals increased among the EIC officials with the news of revolutions in Europe in 1830 and 1848.

Against this background, a few EIC officials thought about establishing schools of design in India that could help the locals to re-capture the markets. In 1853, the Governor of Madras, Charles Edward Trevelyan (1807-1886), suggested to the Select Committee of the House of Lords to consider the founding of art schools in India to avoid a potential revolution because of colonial exploitation.[31] One year after his appearance before the Select Committee, a school of art was established in Calcutta for "moral welfare" and "to improve the indigenous manufactures, [to supply] skilled draughtsmen and engravers, [and to provide] some new fields of employment for the large number of natives and East Indies possessing some degree of education who daily experience an increasing difficulty in procuring an honourable

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[30]For instance, Murshidabad in Bengal was famous for its textile products. In 1757, Robert Clive called this city "as extensive, popular and rich as the city of London, with this difference that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than in the last", Quoted in J.S. Buckingham (ed.), *The Parliamentary Review, and Family Magazine,* Vol. I, (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1833), p. 160. But in 1834, Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, observed a gloomy picture of the same city, "the bones of the cotton-weavers are bleaching the pains of India". Edmond Kelly, *Government or Human Evolution, Individualism and Collectivism* (London: Longman, 1901), p. 158.

[31]*The Sessional Papers, Reports from Select Committees of the House of Lords, and Evidence, 1852-53, Government of Indian Territories,* Vol. XXIX (London: The House of Lords, 1854), pp. 156, 484, 486.

livelihood".[32] This school was largely a venture of the Calcutta middle class, which provided generous funds for this purpose.[33] Having almost the same objectives, a Bombay-based industrialist, Jamsedji Jijibhai, financed an art and industry school which started operating in 1856 under the EIC.[34]

In one way or the other, Corbyn, Hunter, Jijibhai and various societies acted as capitalist agents to further the utilitarian agenda of increasing possibilities of profits. They justified the establishment of art schools on moral grounds, but at the same time they tried to incorporate Indian artisans in the global trade by encouraging them to produce articles suitable for trade. As Utilitarianism presupposes that every human act or skill can be converted into a common good, the reforms in India by various individuals presupposed that training would not only benefit the artisans morally and economically, but it would equally serve the interests of the empire.

3.2. Establishment of the MSA

In 1875, the MSA was set up in Lahore to commemorate the death of Lord Mayo, Governor-General of India, who had been killed by a Pathan prisoner while he was on an official trip to the Andaman Islands. The art school in Lahore was different from other Indian schools, in that it was not an individual's initiative; the colonial state planned and established it with some financial assistance by the local elites and the public. The different names used for the

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[32]*The Journal of the Society of Arts,* Vol. III, Nov. 10, 1854-Nov. 16, 1855, p. 752.

[33]For this they introduced, elementary drawing, etching, engraving and modelling. The works of students in the school were displayed in an exhibition in 1855.

[34]Its founder set the objective of improving local arts, manufacturing and "the habits of industry of the lower and middle classes". Drawing and geometry were compulsory in the school for the improvement of local taste and domestic articles. E.D. Bourdillon (ed.), *East India (Education): Return to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, 10 February 1859, Bombay* (London: House of Commons & India Office Education Department, 1859), pp. 595-7.

school such as the Mayo School of Art, Lahore School, Industrial School of Art and Design, School of Arts, Mayo Memorial School of Industrial Arts, show multiple perspectives of the colonial administrators who had no agreement on the objectives of the institution.[35] Art instruction was introduced to teach the local artisans the theoretical foundations of their own art but such instruction could not be imparted due to administrative problems and different context. The larger agenda of the empire changed when the British interacted with the locals. To explain, I divide this section in four parts: the first part describes various objectives of the school; the second part is about the curriculum; the third part deals with the limitations of the management of the MSA and the response of the local students to the instruction; the fourth part is about the architectural undertakings of the school.

3.2.1. Objectives of the School

There were two different approaches regarding the objectives of the school. One approach was to establish an art school "to disseminate 'general art culture', so that at least as the future deputy magistrate or government clerk must know about Chaucer, Edwardian glories in the stone building, Elizabethian literature, etc".[36] It was an Anglicist perspective. The other approach focussed on reviving "crafts now half forgotten, and to discourage as much as possible the crude attempts at reproduction of the worst features of Birmingham and

[35]Important figures involved in these deliberations were Baden Powell (1841-1901), British civil servant and art critic, Richard Temple (1826-1902), art critic and English Civil Servant, H.H. Locke (d.1885), first Principal of Calcutta School of Arts, J.L. Kipling, and Dr. De. Fabeck, Principal, Jeypore School of Arts. For the profiles of these administrators, see Appendix 2.

[36]"Memorandum on the formation of MSA by Henry Hoover Locke" in Samina Choonara (ed.), *"Official" Chronicle of the Mayo School of Art: Formative Years under JL Kipling (1874-94)* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2003), p. 155.

Manchester work now (so) much common among natives".[37] This suggestion was strongly influenced by Ruskin's and Morris' approach to "lesser" crafts.

Both approaches shared some common assumptions which connected them to the Utilitarian project of the DSA: the Punjabi artisans were forgetting their arts; the British could teach the locals both their own half-forgotten crafts[38] and the European academic tradition; the Europeans were fascinated by Punjabi (oriental) products, so teaching the artisans a correct oriental design could be beneficial to the manufacturers, the traders and the consumers (in India and abroad), thus integrating the local artisans in the global economy as the DSA planned in England. Marx and Engels theorize such expansion of capitalism as follows:

> The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the intensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. ... It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production, it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one world, it creates a world after its own image … Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made the barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilized ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.[39]

One of the major concerns of the British administrators was to select a suitable place for setting up the art school. They considered two options: either to establish the school in the provincial capitals and urban centres, or in craft centres (villages and small towns).[40] The

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[37]J.L. Kipling and T.H. Thronton, *Lahore as it was* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2001, reprinted), p. 49.

[38]For theoretical instruction, Temple argued that Europeans were "*best qualified* to supply" such instruction. "Memorandum on the formation of MSA by Richard Temple" in Choonara (ed.), *"Official" Chronicle*, p. 143. Locke and Powell supported this view. However, for Kipling, initially some guidance could be provided to the locals, but the art schools should be managed by the locals.

[39]Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, trans. Samuel More (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1908 [1848]), pp. 18-9.

[40]J.L. Kipling, H.H. Lock and De. Fabeck supported the first option, and for this purpose, Kipling suggested cities such as Delhi, Agra, Allahabad and Fabeck made a case for Bengal Presidency,

state preferred the first option and established the school in Lahore. To set up the school "under the eyes of government"[41] was intended to easily equip the school[42] and to attract the local nobility, in order "to mould (their) character and tastes, and to improve the intelligence".[43] The colonial administrators attempted to shift the patronage of art from the local nobility and the Sufis to the colonial institutions. But the local elites would be a vehicle to further the colonial agenda by patronizing the artisans trained in these institutions. The administrators knew that they would not be able to operate without local collaboration.

3.2.2. Devising the Curriculum

In 1875, after extensive deliberations, J.L. Kipling devised a curriculum for the MSA. It was a blend of the SKSS and the ideas of Ruskin and Morris. Kipling believed in theoretical instruction; at the same time, he strongly favoured the revival of local crafts by using some modifications in the traditional techniques of practicing craft. He assumed that the theoretical instruction of the DSA was compatible with the local craft practices and that such instruction could help in reviving the half-forgotten Punjabi crafts. Kipling was also aware that the art school could not function without catering to the local needs. He deliberately kept his plans flexible to make further changes. He knew that his experience in England and Bombay could be of little use to understand the very different culture of Punjab. His flexibility also shows his scepticism about a right strategy; although he wanted to revive the local crafts, yet he was

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Allahabad and Ajmer. "Memorandum on the formation of MSA by Dr. De. Fabeck, Principle Jeypore School of Art (1874)" in Choonara (ed.), *"Official" Chronicle*, p. 157.

[41]"Memorandum on the formation of MSA by Henry Hoover Lock, Principal of Calcutta School of Art (dated 26 July 1873)" in Ibid.

[42]Temple opined that villagers would not come to take admission in these schools and it would make these institutions ineffective. Henry Hoover Locke believed that two or three well-equipped schools could serve better than a dozen ill-equipped. See for discussion Memoranda on the formation of MSA by H.H. Lock and by Sir Richard Temple in Ibid.

[43]"Memorandum on the formation of MSA by Dr. De. Fabeck" in Ibid.

unsure how much his plans for the theoretical and the practical instruction could be helpful.[44] In this section, I will discuss the theoretical and the practical components of instruction to elaborate the multiple considerations in devising the curriculum.

Like in the other art schools in India, the need for theoretical instruction in Punjab was based on the assumption that the local art was "wholly empirical and lacked theoretical basis".[45] The artisans could not explain their art theoretically, which reduced it to merely a cheapest copy of the other arts (especially European art). To develop theoretical insights among artisans, the administrators proposed to introduce science, geometry, drawing, along with setting up a museum with good specimens of design.[46] All these subjects were also taught in England.

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[44] Following is the plan of course of instruction by J.L. Kipling: "The elementary part of the work of a school of art is much the same everywhere and may be thus classified:
1.Black-board demonstration of the first principles of drawing.
Elementary outline from flat copies.
Elementary geometry.
2. Outline from objects.
Rudiments of perspective.
3. Light and shade from objects and casts.
Plant drawing from nature.
4. The general principles of ornamental design, especially Eastern.
Modelling in clay from casts.
Moulding and casting in plaster.
Architectural drawing from examples.
Advanced perspective.
Modelling from nature.
Studies in colour of ornament.
Ditto of still life.
Drawing from the living model in black and white.
Original design.
Painting from the living model.
Modelling from ditto."
"Proposed Plan for the organization of MSA by J L Kipling, Esquire (1875)", dated 27 May 1875, in Ibid., p. 159.

[45]"Memorandum on the Formation of MSA by Baden Powell (Dated 31 May 1872)" in Ibid.

[46]Ibid., p. 137. Also see memoranda on the formation of MSA Henry Hoover Locke, Richard Temple and J.L. Kipling.

The underlying assumption for introducing geometry in the MSA followed from the Kantian idea, that is, geometry was developed on scientific lines in western civilization. The European scholars who studied the geometrical patterns of "Oriental" architecture popularized this assertion. The instances of the two French architects and theorists, Eugene-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) and Jules Bourgoin (1838-1907), can be mentioned here. For them, the "Oriental" ornamental geometry was not based on reason; rather it derived from intuition or myth. These simple patterns, apparently harmonious, were far in conception from any analytical method.[47] Caspar Purdon Clarke, who was in-charge of the Indian collection of the South Kensington Museum, collected numerous specimens of geometrical patterns in India during his two years stay in the 1880s, and expressed the same opinion.[48] In the 1850s, when the government set up various schools in Punjab, geometry was introduced as a subject along with English to induce the local students towards rational thinking.[49] Kipling's plan of introducing geometry as a subject in the MSA was influenced by such ideas. He wanted the local artisans to understand the rationality of their own craft practices by gaining proficiency in geometry.

Gyan Prakash theorizes "science's functioning as culture and power" in colonial India. For him, the use of "science's cultural authority" was closely connected to the colonial civilizing mission "to disenchant the world of the superstitious natives, dissolving and secularizing their

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[47]For their views see Jules Bourgoin, *The Decorative Arts of Arabia,* Prisse d'Avennes (ed.) (New York: Portland House, 1989, reprinted).
[48]Caspar Purdon Clarke, "Moghul Art in the India Museum", *Transactions of the Royal Institute of the British Architects* (London: Royal Institute of British Architects, 1888), p. 131.
[49]Harbans Rai Mehta, *A History of the Growth and development of Western Education in the Punjab* (Patiala: Punjab University, 1971[1929]), p. 30. Compare it with, Gottlieb William Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2002 [1882]).

religious world views and rationalizing their society".[50] Nineteenth-century colonial science was deeply embedded in cultural prejudices, in which race, gender and civilization were given prominent position by relying on scientifically proven biological evidence.[51] The scientific discourses were presented as bias-free and universal, while the colonial scientists who were engaged in such research were unable to interrogate their assumptions due to the cultural and political constraints. And those who were considered as sub-human categories by positivist discourse were ill equipped to contest such allegedly scientific assumptions. This is what happened in the MSA.

Baden-Powell recommended establishment of a chair of "applied art" in the school, to introduce the principles of physical sciences, machinery and elementary chemistry.[52] Powell's proposal was not implemented, as the administrators believed that it was too early for the local artisans to understand scientific theories. This fact shows how much importance science acquired among the colonial administrators and how "unscientific" they saw the Punjabi craft practices to be. However, Kipling did not ignore science altogether. Geometry and drawing (of biological forms) were meant to instil the positivist approach among the students. For Kipling, objects could only be understood by a deep observation and an accurate drawing, for without observation and drawing our understanding would be a fantasy.

The introduction of science had an ideological implication for the Sufi-artisans relationship. The positivist approach could question the local belief-system, *baraka*, and the Sufi's

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[50]Gyan Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 4-5.
[51]N.L. Stepen and S.L. Gilman, "Appropriating the Idiom of Science" in D. LaCapra (ed.), *The Bounds of Race: Perspectives on Hegemony and Resistance* (London: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 72-103; A.J. Bishop, "Western Mathematics: The Secret Weapon of Cultural Imperialism", *Race and Class*, Vol. 32(2) (1990), pp. 51-65.
[52]"Memorandum on the formation of MSA by Baden Powell" in Choonara (ed.), *"Official" Chronicle*, p. 137.

metaphysical interpretation of various motifs and decorative patterns. Now the Punjabi artisans gained another perspective contrary to that of the Sufis. This was the colonial art administrators' objective in introducing science so that the local art too would reflect the modern age of scientific revolution.

As I mentioned earlier, the Positivist discourse of science also made its way in the training of the Punjabi artisans through drawing. Kipling followed Goethe's view of comprehending the laws of nature by studying biological forms. At the third and the fourth stages, drawing of plants and modelling from nature was taught to the students. In collaboration with the Lahore Municipality, a garden was set up in the school to make available to the students necessary examples.[53] The administrators assumed that the drawings of natural objects could improve the understanding of nature by the local artisans both scientifically and aesthetically. In this way, drawing was considered a universal language, perfect to communicate intelligible ideas, which the British art administrators could easily understand and supervise.[54] The handling of material and the making of products were replaced by the supervision of drawing and the guidance for patterns. Kipling introduced drawing and geometry at the first three stages.[55] The introduction of drawing would enhance the intelligence of observation by fostering a co-ordination of eye, mind and hand. It could also serve "as a source of useful knowledge and moral edification, especially for the lower classes of the society" and provide the "means of intellectual and moral refinement, exercising an elevating influence capable of raising the

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[53]J.L. Kipling, "Report of the Principal, School of Art, Lahore, for 1882-83" in Ibid., p. 49.
[54]Richard Redgrave, "Elementary Instruction, Drawing is a New Language" in *First Report of the Department of Practical Art* (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1853), p. 60.
[55]First stage involved, "Blackboard demonstration of the first principles of drawing: Elementary outline from flat copies, elementary geometry; second stage, outline from objects, rudiments of perspective.; third stage, Light and shade from objects and castes, plant drawing from nature". "Proposed Plan for the organization of MSA by J.L. Kipling, Esquire (1875)", dated Lahore 27 May 1875, in Choonara (ed.), *"Official" Chronicle*, p. 159.

mind above sensual or material pursuits".[56] Kipling's objective was to train both a colourist and a carpenter with the same method of teaching drawing and geometry.

Drawing was not new for the local artisans; they were reluctant, however, to disclose their designs to others (especially to the British) because design samples were their professional secret. The local artisan families had their own design manuals. The examples of the Rajput and the Ansari families can be given here. They were proficient in drawing and used to draw various patterns for their customers before executing them. Kipling was either ignorant of such tradition or he believed the western style of drawing to be more relevant to the revival of the local art; in either case, his unfamiliarity with the local craft practices is revealed.

Like William Morris, Kipling believed that the students could only make good drawings and designs if they knew the techniques of making crafts. However, for the first three years, all craft students in the school were taught the same courses, which were mainly theoretical. It was only in the fourth and final year of instruction that the students were given training in the craft which they wanted to adopt as a profession. The fourth year also involved theoretical instruction. Thus, by following the tradition of the DSA, all categories of artisans (such as carpenters, weavers, blacksmith) and professionals (draughtsmen) were considered alike in the MSA.

Kipling relied on the local artisans to impart practical instruction to the students. This decision shows a contradiction within the objectives of the school. On the one hand, theoretical instruction was introduced to equip the designers/artisans to work with machines and compete with the influx of British products; on the other, the students were expected to

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[56]Rafael Cardoso, "A Preliminary Survey of Drawing Manuals in Britain c. 1825-1875" in Mervyn Romans (ed.), *Histories of Art and Design Education: Collected Essays* (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2005), p. 30.

learn the traditional craft techniques from the "illiterate" local artisans. The art administrators in England and India assumed that the DSA's theoretical instruction could serve different purposes: in England, it could help the English artisans in designing the "Oriental patterns"; in Calcutta and Bombay, it could form better artists; in Punjab, it could make better artisans. Kipling wanted to teach the local artisans what they already knew.

3.2.3. Limitations of the MSA

The MSA faced far greater problems than those anticipated by Kipling and his associates and which largely altered its agenda.[57] These problems were the diverse background of the students, limited financial resources, non-availability of trained staff, students' limited language skills and their resistance to learn about the theoretical aspects of the craft practices.

One of the objectives of establishing the school in Lahore was to engage the elites in reforming local aesthetic taste. However, the MSA could not gain the attention of the local elites, Anglo-Indians and the European community.[58] The rulers of the princely states, such as the Nawab of Bahawalpur and the Raja of Faridkot, did sponsor a few students, but their contribution to the project was nominal. They continued instead to patronize traditional craftsmen through their construction projects. This aspect is important because the local elites who are believed to have been collaborators of the colonial state politically, did not support the British in their cultural projects. Lack of interest of the "European community", mainly the British officials, also shows that the school did not have the full support of the whole colonial administrative structure.

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[57]"DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1876-77" and "DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1877-78" in Choonara (ed.), *"Official" Chronicle*, pp. 38-9.
[58]Kipling, "Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1882-83" in Ibid., p. 49.

In the MSA, the admission was open; every applicant was offered a place; there was no tuition fee; and the administration provided necessary material, especially for drawing.[59] Such incentives attracted applicants from diverse backgrounds and included many who could not secure admission in institutions such as the Aitcheson College, the Government College Lahore, and the Punjab University Lahore. They joined the school to get a certificate or a government job. The drop-out ratio was high as most of the students realized that it was not a place for them.[60] The reports also recorded a high ratio of regular absentees, but they were not expelled to keep a decent number of enrolled students.

A major drawback of open admission to students from diverse background was their lack of interest in art education. Some of them could mechanically learn various diagrams, but they were not ready to draw "an idea outside an ordinary practice", as Kipling complained. His remark shows the reluctance of the students to learn what they thought was not part of their social or cultural practices. As Kipling pointed out, such attitude would not produce the expected results.[61] The students took a keen interest in the drawings and embroidery related to their own culture.[62] Among the local educational communities, the image of the MSA was that of a drawing school. Several students from other institutions temporarily joined the school for learning drawing.[63] Those students who were not interested in learning any craft

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[59]Kipling, "Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1884-85" and "Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1886-87" in Ibid., pp. 63,73.
[60]"DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1876-77" in Ibid., p. 36.
[61]"JL Kipling's Report on the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, for 1886-87" in Ibid., p. 73.
[62] For instance, Kipling reports, "Sher Muhammad, Muhammad Din, Jiva Ram, Amir Baksh Fazal Ahmad, Ram Singh, wrought assiduously at the work of enlarging and carrying out details from my sketches, and I seriously doubt whether the same number of English students would have so readily grasp the general notion of heraldry and the character of line required. In the delineation of strange creature of (hindered) mythology Amir Baksh and Ala Din were particularly happy. The gold embroidery at the back of the Viceroy's banner designed from a rough general indication by Muhammad Din was a very credible piece of Indian Arabesque". "DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1876-77" in Ibid., p. 37.
[63]Kipling, "Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1884-85" in Ibid., p. 62.

did not respond to the workshop instruction and mainly concentrated on drawing.[64] The students interested in crafts resisted drawing because, for them, it was a "mechanical and thoughtless work".[65] So the object of teaching drawing to the craft students could not be realized.

Initially, theoretical instruction in English was imparted.[66] The trained artisans who took admission in the school to increase their prospects for government jobs resisted the English language.[67] Consequently, Kipling had to introduce translated textbooks but the students did not respond to theoretical instruction.[68] He was aware of the limitations of the modern art school system: "an honest blacksmith's shop would be a more useful institution than a school in India that sets out to teach a theory and principles of art *pur et simple*".[69] Kipling believed that the European theoretical understanding of crafts could not be communicated to the local artisans because of the difference in techniques of the production.[70] His observation shows

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[64]"DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1876-77", in Ibid., p. 38.
[65] Ibid., p. 37; "J.L. Kipling's Report on the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, for 1883-84" in Ibid., p. 52.
[66]For the introduction of English in education and its relation with the colonial rule in India, see Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990).
[67]Kipling acknowledged that technical language of Punjabi artisans was Arabic and vernacular, which was difficult to replace with English. "Director Public Instruction's Report on the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, for 1885-86" in Choonara (ed.), *"Official" Chronicle*. Burchett's Practical Geometry was taught in vernacular by translating technical terms in Arabic and Urdu while many terms were in English.
[68]"DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1879-80", in Ibid., p. 41. "DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1881-82", in Ibid., p. 43. "DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1889-90", in Ibid., p. 81. Kipling stressed the need of giving more general education to make theoretical instruction accessible to the students. Students in other schools also did not respond to theoretical instruction. For this, see A.R. Fuller, *The Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies, for the Year 1860-61* (Lahore: The Punjab Education Department, 1864), p. 23.
[69]"DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1876-77" in Choonara (ed.), *"Official" Chronicle*.
[70]"There are many reasons why the Oriental wood engraver can never hope to approach the delicacies of tone and colour of modern European work, the absence of any really good printing being the first; the feeling for tone also does not exist; and any attempt to imitate this side of the Art would be a waste of labour". "DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1879-80" in Ibid., p. 40.

his anxiety and despair because of the unpopularity of theoretical instruction among the students.

In 1884-85, the administration realized that the curriculum was not useful for the students to compete in the local market place. Kipling revised courses at the advanced level by adding courses on design suitable for *mistris* (builders), wood construction and ornamentation, engraving on metal and wood, textile designs (including carpet designing and embroideries). The subject of oriental design was made compulsory for the students of architecture and decorative work.[71] The authorities began to mention the school as "the Mayo School of Industrial Art" in the reports from 1887 to 1893-94, which reflects their stress on the industry and crafts.[72]

Within a decade of the establishment of the school, the administration began to ignore theory to keep the interests of the students. Kipling appreciated the students who were skilled craftsmen, but had no or little theoretical knowledge.[73] The craft tradition began to dominate the school. Nadeem Omar's contention that the focus of the school on craft instruction stalled social mobility among the artisan communities does not hold true.[74] Several students such as Bhai Ram Singh (a carpenter by profession) and Sher Muhammad (a blacksmith by

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[71]"J.L. Kipling's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1884-85" in Ibid., p. 63. For the courses in subsequent years, see "J.L. Kipling's Report on the Mayo School of Industrial Art, Lahore, for 1888-89" in Ibid., pp. 78-9; "J.L. Kipling's Report on the Mayo School of Industrial Art, Lahore, for 1893-94" in Ibid., p. 95.

[72]"DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1881-82" in Ibid., p. 43. Also see "DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1883-84" in Ibid., p. 50.

[73] "J.L. Kipling's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1886-87" in Ibid., p. 73.

[74]Tarar, "From 'Primitive' Artisans to 'Modern' Craftsmen", p. 199.

profession), were later appointed as assistant teachers for architectural drawings and terra-cotta work.[75]

Limited funds also hampered the agenda of moulding the local taste through art instruction; neither European teachers could be hired nor could a sufficient number of scholarships be offered to the applicants. [76] Even the expansion of the school building could not be realized due to the shortage of funds. To meet the expenses, the staff and the students were engaged in external assignments resulting in the irregularity of class teaching. These assignments were designed to cater to the local needs, and the customers demanded to copy the old designs practiced by the traditional artisans. Kipling hired the "illiterate" artisans to manage the workshops and assignments given to the school.[77]

These problems, which were related to the administration and the responses of the students to the teaching methodologies, suggest serious limitations of the school. Theoretical instruction, which was the main objective, was neglected towards the end of the nineteenth century. Kipling encouraged workshop training conducted by illiterate artisans. In the official reports, frequent reference to the unwillingness of the students to appreciate the learning process suggests that the late decades of the nineteenth century was a period of adjustment and re-adjustment of the school for creating its niche in the local market and the artisan communities.

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[75]For more examples, J.L. Kipling, "Report by the Principal on the Mayo School of Industrial Art, Lahore, for the year 1892-93", in Choonara (ed.), *"Official" Chronicle*, p. 93.
[76]In 1884-85, the number of teaching staff was limited to five in which three were locals (Ram Singh, Sher Muhammad and Lala Dhanpat Rai) while two were Europeans (J.L. Kipling and Gervaise P. Pinto). "DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1884-85" in Ibid.
[77]In 1879-80, Kipling had to hire woodcarvers from Amritsar for making a wood carvan show for the Melbourn Exhibition because of the limited time. "The DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1879-80" in Ibid., p. 41.

3.2.4. The MSA and Colonial Architecture

Historians view architecture in colonial India from various perspectives. In the 1980s, they focussed mainly on the colonial architects and the stylistic aspects of the buildings.[78] Such architectural histories were a continuation of Fergusson's work, as they uncritically accepted the categories of ancient, medieval, modern, European, Indian, Islamic, Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh, etc., and remained indifferent to other issues such as the construction material, the cultural context, influence of the power structure in patronizing a particular style of architecture, etc. Other historians focus on the sociological and the ideological aspects of colonial architecture and examine the typologies of architecture within a larger imperial project of developing elite residential areas by promoting bungalow culture.[79]

Historians interested in the ideological underpinnings of colonial architecture have used Edward Said's ideas to show the strategies of control and hegemony in the built environment. They argue that Indian architecture meant to represent a particular kind of ideology by following various styles such as Gothic and Indo-Saracenic.[80] Thomas Metcalf, in the case of British colonialism, and Gwendolyn Wright, in the case of French colonialism, explain that the eclectic architecture not only intended to glorify the empires, but also to neutralize the

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[78]Robert Grant Irving, *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Bakers, and Imperial Delhi* (London: Yale University Press, 1981); Philip Davies, *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India, 1660-1947* (London: John Murray, 1985); Maharaja of Baroda and V. Fass, *The Palaces of India* (New York: Vendome Press, 1980); Samita Gupta, *Architecture of the Raj: Western Deccan, 1700-1900* (New Dehli: BR Publishers, 1985).
[79]Anthony D. King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture* (London: Routledge, 1984).
[80]Thomas R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (London: Faber, 1989); William Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City* (London: University of Minnesota, 2008).

anti-colonial movements by presenting the architecture of colonial institutions in familiar ways.[81]

Several historians use terms such as "eclectic" or "hybrid" to denote the imitation of different architectural traditions in one structure. Mark Crinson, while studying colonial architecture in the Near East, argues that eclectic architecture "was neither a simple manifestation of intentions nor a reflection of context"; in fact, it was shaped by "British attitudes and local realities".[82] Crinson stresses that incompetency, contingency and failures should be considered in the analysis of colonial architecture. In the case of colonial India, Giles Tillotson and Peter Scriver propose that the eclectic style represented the limitation of the empire.[83] By using the local material and the methods of construction, the Indian craftsmen copied the prescribed designs made in a different context ending up with a hybrid style, which help to understand the unpopularity and weaknesses of the style. Tillotson and Scriver argue that Indo-Saracenic was an enforced style, serving the personal concerns and the individual efforts of the colonial officials to formulate a larger colonial identity. Similarly, William Glover also suggests that nineteenth-and twentieth-century urban and rural planning in Punjab was based on colonial liberal notion of educating the locals, who had physical and moral disorder due to their poor living conditions.[84] Improvement in the physical environment could change the change the habits of "criminal" and "wandering" tribes and the Indians' way of living. Glover contends that the construction of English bungalows and the

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[81]Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991).
[82]Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism & Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 4, 7.
[83]Gales Henry Rupert Tillotson, *The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy, and Change since 1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (eds.), *Colonial Modernities: Building, dwelling and architecture in British India and Ceylon* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 47.
[84]William Glover, "Objects, Models, and Exemplary Works: Educating Sentiment in Colonial India", *Journal of Asian Studies,* Vol. 64(3), (August 2005), pp. 539-66.

settlements of villages into organized units did not completely change the life-style and ideas of locals, who felt pride in following their old traditions.

My argument follows Crinson, Tillotson, Scriver and Glover. The debates about various architectural styles in England influenced the concerns of the administrators in Punjab involved in different architectural projects. The eclectic architecture adopted by the MSA reflects a failure of the colonial administration to come up with any standard style, which could represent the Indianess of the Victorian empire or revive the half-forgotten Indian architectural tradition. With limited resources (funds and building material), the colonial administrators ended up with designs neither similar to each other nor to the pre-colonial Indian buildings. The conservation and construction projects also suggest the lack of clarity of the colonial patrons about the intended designs, and their failure to work with the local builders to popularize any standard architectural style.

From the 1830s onwards, English architects, such as Charles Barry and Augustus Pugin, popularized the neo-Gothic style to infuse historicism in the contemporary architectural practices. Historicism expresses the attitude of nineteenth-century scholars in Britain to define national "heritage" or "culture" based on historical knowledge. Barry and Pugin designed the Palace of Westminster (London) and the Parliament Hill (Ottawa) in the neo-Gothic style. Pugin's views on reviving Gothic architecture, which could in turn revive the old Christian moral values, greatly influenced John Ruskin and William Morris.[85]

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[85]Augustus Welby Pugin, *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (London: J. Weale, 1843), p. 4; John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1849)*;* John Ruskin, "The Nature of Gothic" in *The Stones of Venice*, Vol. II, (New York: John Wiley, 1860), pp. 167-254; William Morris, "The Prospects of Architecture in Civilization" in *Hopes and Fears for Art* (Boston: Robert Brothers, 1882), pp. 212-4.

Along with the revival of Gothic architecture, another trend also emerged, especially from the mid-nineteenth century onwards: the combination of different historical styles in one building, i.e., architectural eclecticism, a subset of historicism, which includes all nineteenth-century revival styles (neo-Gothic, neo-Renaissance, neo-Baroque).[86] The blending of different historical styles was inspired from natural science and technology. If scientific knowledge could be objective, different cultures could also have similar tastes, so various architectural styles could be replicated in one structure. In eclectic architecture, historical tradition inspired the architects, who found in it refuge from contemporary industrialization and urbanization.

In the Cole circle, Matthew Digby Wyatt[87] and Richard Redgrave[88] opposed historicism and favoured the visibility of contemporary technology in buildings, which could lead to new styles. Owen Jones invited architects to take inspiration from nature and to use geometry for their designs, which could also lead to a different style.[89] The Cole circle largely criticized decorative architecture on account of its limited utility and high costs. They argued that every age has its own architecture and the nineteenth century should follow a different style. Joseph Paxton's design of the Crystal Palace glass and iron building can be cited as an example of "industrial architecture". The techniques of this style developed further when the engineers were able to reinforce concrete with metal. Yet industrial architecture was often viewed as

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[86]Between 1815 and 1823, John Nash remodelled Royal Pavilion at Brighton, which had Chinese, Islamic and Indian architectural styles. In 1823-24, John Foulston designed various buildings in Devonport by mixing the Greek and Egyptian styles. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Joseph Poellaert designed the Palace of Justice in Brussels by using different architectural traditions such as Chinese, Indian, Baroque, Renaissance and Assyrian.

[87]Matthew Digby Wyatt, *From the Industrial Arts of the Nineteenth-Century: A Series of Illustrations* (London: Day and Son, 1851), pp. vii-viii.

[88]Richard Redgrave, "Supplementary Report on Design" in *Reports by the Juries on the Subjects in the Thirty Classes into which the Exhibition was Divided* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1852), pp. 708, 712-3.

[89]Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day and Son, 1865), pp. 154-7.

merely functional, made of materials (such as steel and iron) which could hardly be given artistic design. So it was employed for exhibition halls, railway sheds, departmental stores, bridges and factories.

The debates on the architectural styles in England also influenced the colonial administrators and scholars in India. Discordant opinions among the administrators show tensions within the colonial structure: several officials favoured the conservation of medieval Indian styles; a few others argued to adopt neo-Gothic architecture; while some favoured a new style (Indo-Saracenic) representing all the local traditions of India. These tensions are reflected not only in the architectural treatises but also in the institutional practices of at least two departments, ASI and the PWD, which were concerned with construction and conservation projects.

From the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, several colonial scholars such as William Jones and William Chambers viewed Indian architecture as a "stone-book". For them, architecture, sculpture and ancient treatises on sciences and arts were fundamental sources for understanding Indian civilization.[90] James Fergusson popularized the idea of the "stone-book" to study the local history. On the one hand, Fergusson applied the theory of decay to India's architecture; on the other, he also drew lessons from Indian and Eastern architecture as a source to revive European architecture.[91] For him, architecture could be improved by

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[90] William Jones, "The Third Anniversary Discourse, on the Hindus, delivered 2nd of February, 1786" in *The Works of Sir William Jones,* Vol. I (London: G.G. and J.Robinson, 1799), p. 30. Chambers studied the temple of Mahabalipuram in the light of the Mahabharta, a famous Hindu epic. See Chambers reprinted article, "Some account of the Sculpture and Ruins at Mavalipuram, a place a few miles north of Sadras, and known to Seamen by the name of the Seven Pagodas" in M.W. Carr (ed.), *Descriptive and Historical Papers relating to The Seven Pagodas on the Coromandel Coast* (Madras: Government of Madras, 1869), pp. 1-29.

[91] John MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 95.

returning to the original principles of old styles. He criticized historical eclecticism because it was devoid of any architectural principle or tradition it purported to represent.

ASI, inaugurated in the second half of the nineteenth century, institutionalized Fergusson's idea of classifying and documenting the ancient principles of Indian architecture on scientific lines. In its search for authentic Indian heritage, ASI worked on the idea of architecture as a stone-book by examining craftsmanship and various types of construction material. Like Jones and Chambers, ASI documented the relation of Indian mythology to ancient buildings.[92] In the twentieth century, ASI also became responsible for conserving ancient monuments by using old building materials and techniques. So its mission was to promote and preserve the ancient style of architecture in India.

Parallel to ASI, the PWD also became central to architectural debates in India. Established in 1855, the significance of the PWD increased after 1857, when it became responsible for building infrastructure for the colonial state, which included railways, roads, hospitals, post-offices, schools, colleges, cantonments, courts, police stations, jails, residences, etc.[93] Peter Scriver points to the tensions between "the intentional inputs and built outputs of empire", as he observes various design logics in the works of the PWD, while the technical details and the layouts remained the same.[94] Scriver shows that the PWD was dominated by engineers, so the department was viewed as "anti-aesthetic" because it employed substandard British

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[92]Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878-79,* Vol. XIV (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1882); Alexander Cunningham and J.D. Beglar, *Archaeological Survey of India, Report of Tours in the South-Eastern Provinces in 1874-75 and 1875-76,* Vol. XIII (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing,1882).

[93]See for the first year of progress of PWD, *Progress Reports of the Public Works Department, for the Year 1854-1855,* No. XIII (Calcutta: Thos. Jones, Calcutta Gazette Office, 1856).

[94]Peter Scriver, "Empire-Building and Thinking in the Public Works Department of British India" in Scriver and Prakash (eds.), *Colonial Modernities*, p. 71.

architectural practices. The use of mechanization and steel marginalized the local techniques of construction. It was not until 1901 that "architects" were employed in the PWD. So, while ASI was working for preserving the ancient style of architecture, the PWD was performing an opposite function: "modernising" India by introducing British techniques of construction and styles such as neo-Gothic and industrial.

Unlike Sufi shrines, which had a codified style that was persistently pursued in the nineteenth century, the colonial administrators in Punjab were indecisive about what architectural style they wanted to follow. Initially, the officers in the PWD favoured neo-classic style and hired the students, trained in the local art schools, and the local *mistris* (builders) to execute the projects. However, what came out of this exercise, was a vulgar neo-classical architecture. After 1857, the British projected themselves as "legitimate, almost indigenous rulers", who could be linked to the Mughals, and one aspect of this localization of the empire was to "[seize] upon the art indigenous to the countries they conquered, adapting it to suit their own needs".[95] In the late 1860s, the governor of Madras, Lord Napier, encouraged Robert Fellow Chisholm, the consulting architect, to incorporate local styles, especially the "Mussulman style", in the design of official buildings. Because it borrowed architectural elements from different religious communities, especially that of Andalusia, it was also called the Indo-Saracenic style. Chisholm designed the building of the Board of Revenue in Chepauk palace, which according to Napier, "set the first example of a revival in native art".[96] This eclectic architecture was followed by other PWD officers, but they superimposed on it the structural plans of modern educational and public buildings. The objective of Indo-Saracenic

[95]Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision,* p. 56.
[96]Ibid., p. 59.

architecture was to represent the British Raj by masking modern techniques under the guise of historic Indian architectural styles.

In this context, dissenting voices emerged within the colonial administrators such as G.S. Growse, who was posted in Bulandshaher (the United Provinces); George Birdwood, an Anglo-Indian officer and art critic; and J.L. Kipling. Growse protested that the PWD pursued an architecture that ignored local traditions, building material, skills of local builders and the way of living.[97] Birdwood believed that the government did "the worst mischief" by introducing a sub-standard architectural tradition of Europe. The local elites, such as the Nawab of Bahawalpur and the Maharaja Holkar of Indore, followed the British eclectic experiments in their own states. Birdwood blamed the colonial state as the "fountain-head and origin of all evil" in art and architecture.[98]

For Kipling, "there are hundreds of such buildings cut up into longer or shorter lengths [by the PWD engineers] to serve for law courts, schools, municipal halls, dak bungalows, barracks, post offices and other needs of our high civilization…the highly centralised departmental system, which prescribes the form of all buildings in one uniform pattern is fatal to right movement in art".[99] Kipling criticized the training programme for engineers at the Roorkee Engineering Institute, where architecture was taught without any Oriental department.[100] In this way, engineers and architects produced by the government would have no knowledge of the local architecture. Kipling observed a sharp contrast between the local

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[97]Frederic Salmon Growse, *Bulandshahr: Or, Sketches of an Indian District: Social, Historical and Architectural* (Calcutta: Medical Hall Press, 1884).
[98]George C.M. Birdwood, *The Industrial Arts of India* (London: Committee on Council of Education, 1880), pp. 132-3.
[99]J.L. Kipling, "Indian Architecture Today", *Journal of Indian Art and Industry,* Vol. 1 (3), (1884), pp. 1-5.
[100]In 1883-84, Kipling offered to arrange joint lectures for students in his school with the institute but this proposal was rejected by the authorities.

builders (*mistri*) and the graduates of the government institute; the first followed the century old methods of construction refining them with their experience; the second were bookish without any practical knowledge of handling the local construction material. Against this background, Kipling and his associates planned to revive the decaying architectural tradition of Punjab.

The colonial architectural undertakings were largely under-funded and intended for make-shift administrative purposes, as suggested by the official reports.[101] Students of the MSA were trained to assist in such type of construction. Kipling resented such training of draughtsmen because for him local elites would imitate this architecture, whose quality was far below than the local one. To impart training of construction and design, Kipling engaged two assistant masters, Munshi Sher Muhammad and Bhai Ram Singh. Ram Singh belonged to a family of carpenters but he was also trained by Kipling in drawing, geometry and drafting. Singh taught the students drawing (both free-hand and mechanical), wood-carving, geometry and constructive designs. Sher Muhammad, a blacksmith by profession, taught different styles of architecture, especially the use of colours in traditional decorative patterns.[102] Neither of them was well-versed in the western theories of architecture and had limited skills in English.[103]

The limitation did not concern teachers only; in fact, the architectural students had no aptitude towards the discipline. They were mainly from other professions (especially crafts)

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[101]"DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1876-77" in Choonara (ed.), *"Official" Chronicle*, p. 38; "JL Kipling's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1884-85" in Ibid., p. 61.
[102]J.L. Kipling, "Report on the Mayo School of Industrial Art, Lahore, For 1888-89" in Ibid., p. 79.
[103]Ram Singh towards the end of his tenure in the MSA, did participate in at least one conference, which reflects his understanding of the wood-work in India. See "Indian Industrial Conference, Lahore, with Report on Wood-Carving by Bhai Ram Singh, Principal Mayo School of Arts", File no. 31-A, 1909 (NCAA, Lahore), pp. 1-13.

and were neither willing nor able to comprehend architectural theories taught at the school. Because of these reasons, Kipling complained that he had no talented youth who could be trained in the local architectural tradition.[104] The school did not offer any certificate in architecture; the students were taught architectural drawing, ornamental design, pottery (tile-work) and carpentry to develop their understanding about the local architecture. Official reports give details of many students who left the school before completing their training, either because of the lack of interest or they were offered jobs as tracers or draughtsmen in the PWD, or surveyors in ASI. These semi-trained or trained artisans (architects/mistri/draughtsmen) working with the PWD or ASI, were not in a position to influence the local architecture because the under-funded projects of both institutions had a little margin for innovation.[105]

Architectural projects managed by the MSA did not match theoretical instruction in the school due to varied reasons, as Kipling writes: "Considerations of costs, which are most important, adaptability to use, rapidity of execution, varieties of light and architectural condition, the prime essentials indeed of applied art, are all lost sight in the work that is done on the drawing-board in the school room".[106] However, Kipling expected that his students, trained with diverse skills of different crafts, would be able to revive the old architecture by using the (poorly received) theoretical instruction. I will give two examples of works by local artisans under the British patrons, which were eclectic and had no precedents in the subcontinent.

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[104]"DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1879-80", in Choonara (ed.), *"Official" Chronicle*, p. 41.
[105]"DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1891-92" and "J.L. Kipling's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1892-93", in Ibid., pp. 87,93.
[106] "The DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1877-78" in Ibid., p. 39.

The first instance is the interior decoration of a billiard room, which the Duke of Connaught commissioned to the MSA in 1884. Kipling, Bhai Ram Singh and the students of the school, completed this project with the help of other carpenters in Amritsar. The interior decoration was "an elaborate arrangement of carved wood in the style of the last century of Punjab wood decoration".[107] The project involved the making of almost 270 wooden panels with different motifs such as geometrical patterns (as in mosques and Sufi shrines), crescent and star (identifying Islam), Ganesh (from Hindu mythology) and the peacock (a motif found in Buddhism, Jainism and Sikh iconographies). These images were never used together because of their individual symbolic significance in each religious tradition.[108] However, for the British patrons, these images were simply Oriental in character.[109]

The second example is the construction and the decoration of the Durbar Room at Osborne House. In 1891-92, Queen Victoria commissioned this project to the MSA. Princess Lousie, daughter of the queen, instructed Ram Singh through Kipling. Singh's suggestions including the arch and the use of blue colour on the walls were rejected as they were seen as clumsy, or heavy, or too common, or supposedly not in tune with the Oriental character. On the instruction of the princess, Singh painted the images of Ganesh and other gods on the walls, along with different animals (deer, fish, lion-heads, birds), and flowers (like in mosques and shrines). Above the fireplace, a peacock was made to give the wall an "Oriental" touch. In the

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[107]J.L. Kipling, "Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1884-85" in Ibid., p. 59.

[108]For the importance of Ganesh in the Indian tradition, see Robert Shilder and Winand M. Callewaert, *Banaras: Visions of a Living Ancient Tradition* (New Delhi: Hemkunt Publishers, 2000), p. 94. For geometrical patterns, see Samer Akkach, *Cosmology and Architecture in Premodern Islam: An Architectural Reading of Mystical Ideas* (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 2005). The image of peacock was used in the various Indian traditions (such as Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism). For this see, Krishna Lal, *Peacock in Indian Art, Thought and Literature* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 2006).

[109]"The billiard-room is a perfect revelation of highly-wrought wood-carving-furniture, walls, ceiling and table are eloquent of the patient toil of handicraftsmen in Her Majesty's Eastern Empire". Arthur H. Beavan, "Bagshot Park: The Residence of H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught", *The English Illustrated Magazine*, Vol. X (London: Edward Arnold, 1893), p. 728.

Indian architectural tradition, artisan-builders hardly used all these images in one building, but for the British patrons it was a "Hindu-Sikh scheme of decoration".[110] Kipling and his associates followed the same approach in other decoration and conservation projects as well.[111] The intention of the British patrons was to revive the half-forgotten style in its "true spirit" by studying the old buildings and reproducing those elements in the contemporary architecture, yet by mixing different architectural motifs they ended up with a new style.

Kipling and his associates also mixed styles of pre-colonial Indian architecture in new buildings. In doing so, they followed European eclecticism. However, in Europe, the architects tapped into different historical traditions, while in Punjab, Kipling aimed to revive the local architecture. The eclecticism pursued by Kipling and his associates was not only different from local traditions but also from other colonial buildings categorised within the umbrella term of Indo-Saracenic. Here, I will discuss the eclectic style of three buildings, the Aitchison College, the MSA and the Lahore museum.

My first example is a partial contribution by Bhai Ram Singh under Kipling's guidance, to the design of the Punjab Chiefs' College (later renamed the Aitchison College) in Lahore (illustration, 56.b).[112] Out of the twenty-nine designs submitted for the college, the committee selected two, one by Ram Singh, the other by Samuel Swinton Jacob, the executive engineer in Jaipur state. The committee decided to merge both plans, so it had Ram Singh's elevations

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[110]*The British Architect: A Journal of Architecture and the Accessory Arts,* Vol. 38 (London: The British Architect Co., 1893), p. 146.

[111]Kipling and his associates followed eclectic designs in the fresco-work and the interior decoration of a late-Mughal style building in Lahore, which in the nineteenth century was used as the Governor's House. Sylvia Shorto, "A Tomb of One's Own: The Governor's House, Lahore" in Scriver and Prakash (eds.), *Colonial Modernities*, p. 164.

[112]The colonial state set up such institutions in northern India to secure the social position of the *jagirdars* (landlords), who were threatened by the emerging educated youths from the lower social groups.

and Jacob's ground plan and general arrangements.[113] It was an extensive three-tiered building. The designers mixed the neo-Gothic high windows, *chattris* from the pre-Mughal Hindu forts and temples, octagonal turrets from Sufi shrines in Multan, arches and the veranda's decorative details from Moorish architecture, the use of red and white marble in *jharoka* and *jalli* work from the Mughal palaces. The patrons and the designers claimed this building to be "traditional" and "Oriental".

My second example is the red-brick building of the MSA (illustration, 39).[114] Kipling intentionally followed the Saracenic style.[115] His assistant, Ram Singh, used "terracotta jalliwork" for the arches in the veranda of the main building. He made different shapes by re-arranging red bricks throughout the structure. The turrets and *chattris* of the main entrance were inspired from Hindu temple and Sikh Gurdwaras, while the fresco work on some portions of the walls followed the designs as in the Sufi shrines.

The case of the Lahore museum is similar.[116] The red-brick structure has domes almost 70 feet high, with a white marble entrance to the main building. Bricks are moulded into

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[113]Samuel Swinton Jacob in the nineteenth century tried to standardize Indo-Saracenic architecture in his portfolios published between 1866 and 1912. Some of these portfolios are available at the NCA-Archives. See Samuel Swinton Jacob, *Jeypore Portfolio of Architectural Details, part I, Copings and Plinths,* Folio no. 48; *Jeypore Portfolio of Architectural Details, part II, Pillars, Caps and Basis,* Folio no. 49; *Jeypore Portfolio of Architectural Details, part III, Doors,* Folio no. 50.

[114]Due to the lack of funds some portion of the structure was constructed in the 1880s while the rest in the 1890s. The building was made of red bricks, like other colonial buildings, with three blocks surrounding the main courtyard which was open on one side. The north side of the building was facing the Mall road, the first metallic road. This double-storey main block of building had administrative offices, display room, large hall. The western and the eastern blocks had studios for drawing, geometry, carpentry, modelling and painting.

[115] "DPI's Report on the MSA, Lahore, for 1876-77" in Choonara (ed.), *"Official" Chronicle*, p. 38.

[116]Previously, the government refused Kipling to give any grant for constructing a museum but in connection with the Victorian jubilee celebrations, the government provided funds for the project. In one of his reports, Kipling expressed his desire to make a distinctive structure which could attract the imagination of local artisans. He believed that he would not be able to make any structure more beautiful than the Wazir Khan mosque. In 1890, Prince Albert Victor laid the foundation stone and it took almost three years to complete the construction of the Lahore museum.

different decorative patterns similar to Hindu and Sikh religious architecture. The main lobby and the interior of the large dome has geometrical and floral patterns similar to the Sufi shrines, alongside the *pinjra* work on wood and stucco tracery follow the designs of the Mughal and Sikh buildings. On the entrances of the two galleries, there is a large image of a peacock, decorated with different geometrical and floral patterns. The fresco-work in the central gallery gives a touch of "Muslim" style to the museum. [117]

This eclectic architecture was something new in a familiar package. The motifs used could be found in pre-colonial buildings but they were never used in the same way. In fact, it was not possible for Kipling and Bhai Ram Singh to use old construction material, which was costly and could consume more time in completing the projects. Consequently, Kipling relied on the PWD engineers who used modern construction materials, such as iron and steel. Due to the administrative nature of these buildings, Kipling and Bhai Ram Singh had to use not only old motifs in new ways (by repeating them frequently) but also had to enlarge the proportions of the buildings to meet their functional requirements. Such buildings for modern institutions were thus familiar in design but very different from historic buildings in terms of proportions and use of decorative motifs. The main problem with blending different styles was that every new undertaking led to stylistically different structures, which could hardly influence the local architectural styles.[118]

How did the locals receive such eclectic style? Metcalf argues that the Indian princes of Kapurthala, Baroda and Jaipur appropriated the Indo-Saracenic style to some extent, in order

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[117]Munshi Sher Muhammad supervised this work. Sher Muhammad trained in reproducing the Muslim decorative patterns, made several drawings of the Wazir Khan mosque as part of his practice and various assignments which were later on printed in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*.

[118]John Watts Brassington's design of the Lahore Chief Court (1881) looks like a mosque. He took inspiration from the Cordoba mosque. Except the use of red bricks, it is hardly similar to the buildings of MSA and Lahore Museum. (Compare illustrations 39, 52, 56. a & b).

to present themselves as a modern elite and ally of the British. In the private sphere, however they kept at a distance from eclecticism.[119] Similarly, with a few exceptions in Bahawalpur state, there was hardly any attempt by the nawabs to follow eclectic architecture.[120] They continued to hire traditional craftsmen for religious and tomb architecture. An open resistance to eclecticism came from the local reformist movements, which aimed to use architecture to express their ideas. Whenever the MSA students proposed buildings in eclectic styles, local patrons did not appreciate it. Here, I will mention two examples of the Hindu and the Sikh revivalist movements, which are important because the MSA students were involved in the projects, showing that Kipling's instruction had little or no effect on the local architectural practices.

The first example is the Dayanand Anglo Vedic College (DAV), jointly designed by Ganga Ram, executive engineer in the PWD, and Bhai Ram Singh in the 1890s. The DAV was one of the efforts of the Arya Samaj movement in Punjab to revive Vedic Hinduism.[121] Ram Singh, who was requested to design the Arts Block of the college in 1911, replicated the "classical Hindu architecture" (with elements like masonry *shikhara* and a façade similar to Hindu temple).[122] Similarly, in the building of the Khalsa College in Amritsar (illustration 57), constructed between the 1890s and the 1900s, Ram Singh imitated the Sikh religious buildings (with a similar style of domes, porches, decorative patterns, etc.) to match the

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[119] Thomas R. Metcalf, "A Tradition Created: Indo-Saracenic Architecture under the Raj" in *History Today*, Vol.32(9) (Sep. 1982). http://www.historytoday.com/thomas-r-metcalfe/tradition-created-indo-saracenic-architecture-under-raj (accessed on 21 April 2012).

[120] The examples of eclectic architecture in Bahawalpur are the Nur palace (built in the 1870s) and the Gulzar Mahal (built in the 1900s).

[121] The movement had a strong influence in Lahore as most of its leadership was living in the city. The DAV was to house those classes which were previously conducted in the Arya Samaj temple. For a detailed analysis of the movement, see Jyotsana Uppal, "Decay, Diet, and Desire: The Making of Community in Colonial Punjab" (Colombia: Colombia University, Unpublished PhD dissertation, 1998).

[122] Glover, *Making Lahore Modern*, pp. 91-8.

objectives of the patrons, who wanted to revive the Sikh identity and Punjabi knowledge. In both these buildings, the patrons and the architects made deliberate attempts not to follow the eclectic or Indo-Saracenic style, yet used modern building material such as iron-cast. Use of pre-colonial designs by various revivalist movements show not only the rejection of the colonial style but also points out the intention among the local communities to reflect their identity through architecture. So, as various Muslim communities were identifying themselves with the Sufi shrines in order to define their Islamic identity, a similar trend is also visible among the Sikh and the Hindu communities in Punjab.

Not only the reformist movements, but the colonial scholars too were critical of eclectic architecture. Fergusson contended that by mimicking various architectural elements from altogether different traditions, the fusion remained divorce of the logics of each component in the construction. E.B. Havell also criticized the eclectic or Indo-Saracenic style in 1913 by terming it a "make-believe Anglo-Indian style".[123] Despite his admiration for the local traditions, Lord Curzon planned to use the "Italian or Palladian" styles to represent the Raj in the architecture of New Delhi, which was to be built as the new imperial capital instead of Calcutta. Even though some officials remained in favour of eclecticism, the state did not pursue this style of architecture in the twentieth century.[124] This change of policy abruptly ended the earlier attempts of Kipling and his associates to "revive" the local architectural traditions through official patronage.

The eclectic style was intended to revive the local architectural tradition; it should not be treated as a "healthy" interaction between the British patrons and the local craftsmen as

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[123]E.B. Havell, *Indian Architecture: Its Psychology, Structure, and History from the First Muhammadan Invasion to the Present Day* (London: John Murray, 1913), pp. 242-9.
[124]For discussion on the architecture of Delhi, see Wolfgang Sonne, *Representing the State: Capital City Planning in the Early Twentieth Century* (London: Prestel, 2003), pp. 189-240.

Vandal and Vandal suggest. They give credit to Kipling and Ram Singh for reviving the traditional architecture while resisting the dominant colonial agenda.[125] Mahrukh Tarapor also puts forward a similar argument.[126] My reading suggests that although some British officers were interested in reviving the local architecture, and a few others were interested in celebrating the Indianess of the Victorian empire, the eclecticism was contested by the locals and the colonial administrators. Kipling's institutional effort could not be realized as intended.

3.3. Conclusion

In nineteenth-century Punjab, the colonial art institutions (art schools, exhibitions and museums) provided theoretical bases for craft practices to influence the local culture. The colonial art institutions were based on liberalism; these institutions tried to rationalize the local craft practices by introducing science and attempted to integrate the Punjabi artisans in the colonial economy and the administrative apparatus. This chapter has examined the ways in which the colonial administrators engaged the Punjabi artisans through art education and architecture. The policies devised and implemented in England for promoting the design education, were emulated in Punjab with similar theoretical assumptions. However, the stated objectives could not be achieved and colonial art institutions ended up deviating from it. Thus, the interaction of the British and the locals was not hegemonic. Rather the interaction was a complex one because of the uneven reception of the instruction and the administrative limitations of MSA. When Lionel Heath took charge as principal from the 1910s onwards,

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[125]Pervaiz Vandal & Sajida Vandal, *The Raj, Lahore and Bhai Ram Singh* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2006). Also see a similar argument regarding woodwork of Bhai Ram Singh, Nazish Ata-ullah, "Stylistic Hybridity and Colonial Art and Design Education: A Wooden Carved Screen by Ram Singh" in Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (eds.) *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 68-81.
[126]Tarapor, "Art and Empire", pp. 86-90.

the administration began to concentrate on "fine arts" altogether ignoring the school's objective of reviving the local crafts.[127]

The architectural projects of MSA also reflected a deviation of the school from its stated objective of reviving the pre-colonial architecture. The interior decoration, renovation and construction projects followed an eclectic style. The British assumed that eclecticism was Indian in character, representing all the local traditions and religious communities. They did not recognize that by mixing a variety of elements, the style did not represent any historical tradition. Buildings which followed the eclectic or Indo-Saracenic style were stylistically very different from each other. Eventually, as a result of strong criticism within the colonial administration the state abandoned this style in the early decades of the twentieth century. The local communities (such as the Sikhs, the Hindus and the Sufis) continued to follow their traditional architecture; and even though they adopted modern building materials, they rejected ideas associated with colonial modernity, such as Positivism and Utilitarianism.

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[127]For discussion on the focus of education, see "Papers on the General Education Conferences and the MSA", File no. 8A, 1904-9 (NCAA, Lahore). For Heath's tenure and his views on the instruction see "Personal File of Mr. Lionel Heath, Principal MSA and Curator, Central Museum, Lahore", File no. 25-A, 1908-21 (NCAA, Lahore); "Personal File of Mr. Lionel Heath, Principal, MSA, Lahore", part-I & II, File no. 38-C, 1925-29, (NCAA, Lahore). For this transition, also see, "Fine Art Departments", File no.29-C, 1925-32 (NCAA, Lahore), pp.1-50. "Scheme of Studies in the MSA", File no. 84-C, 1926 (NCAA, Lahore).

CHAPTER 4. DISCORDANT VOICES: THE COLONIAL EXHIBITIONS AND THE LAHORE MUSEUM

Like in the case of art instruction, the objectives of organizing the exhibitions and establishing the Lahore museum were multiple, hegemonic, and sometimes contradictory, including the promotion of local trade, the protection of the local craft industry, and the introduction of colonial science in Punjab. Through advertisement and the mobilization of administrative machinery, the colonial officials tried to attract a maximum number of artisans and general public to exhibitions and the Lahore museum. In this way, the officials desired to "socialize" the public in a way which could integrate the visitors into the liberal British empire and ensure the realization of the above objectives. The local artisans and public resisted these institutions in different ways: by not cooperating in the collection of exhibits; by contesting the judgements of the juries; and by treating the displays as a source of amusement rather than education, etc. The discordant voices of the officials administering these institutions also reflect counter hegemonic views within the colonial state. I explain this chapter that the exhibitions and the museum were the sites where different perspectives contested one another, challenging and reinforcing the dominant ideas, where the political domination did not ensure control over popular opinions.

4.1. Punjab in the Age of Exhibitions

By qualifying nineteenth-century exhibitions and museums as expressions of an "exhibitionary complex", Tony Bennett argues that these sites were specifically designed to disseminate hegemonic discourses. Bennett lays emphasis on three aspects of the exhibitionary complex: the treatment of society as a spectacle; the role of the state in organizing these spectacles; the exhibitionary complex as an expression of the

power/knowledge relationship.[1] Several other scholars, such as Burton Benedict,[2] Bernard Cohn,[3] and Gyan Prakash[4] also regard colonial exhibitions as a disciplinary institution. The underlying assumptions in these works are derived from Edward Said, Michel Foucault and the Gramscian idea of the ethical responsibility of the modern state to educate its citizens.[5] From this perspective, the colonial spectacles were discursive practices in which the organizers selected, classified, and displayed the exhibits to inscribe in them meanings as intended by the colonial state.

Several scholars such as Marieke Bloembergen,[6] Peter H. Hoffenberg[7] and Saloni Mathur[8] challenge these hegemonic interpretations of colonial exhibitions. They highlight the discordant voices of the organizers, the limitations of the colonial state, and unanticipated and counter hegemonic public responses. While explaining the Dutch colonial exhibitions, Bloembergen argues that the hegemonic interpretations do not consider the response of the general public, many of whom were day-trippers, supporters and critics of the events. In

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[1]Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex", *New Formations,* No. 4 (Spring 1988), pp. 73-102; Tony Bennett, *The Birth of Museum: History, Theory, Politics, Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994)

[2]Benedict Burton (ed.), *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco Panama Pacific Internal Exposition of 1915* (London: Lowie Museum of Anthropology, 1983).

[3]Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Bernard S. Cohn, "Representing Authority in Victorian India" in Eric Hobsbawn and T Ranger (ed.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 165-210.

[4]Prakash suggests that the reception of the exhibitions contested the colonial agenda. Gyan Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

[5]Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980); Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Random House, 1977); Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks,* Joseph A. Buttigieg (ed.), tans. Joseph A. Buttigieg and Antonio Callari, 3 Vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

[6]Marieke Bloembergen, *Colonial Spectacles: The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies at the World Exhibitions, 1880-1931,* trans. Beverley Jackson (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006).

[7]Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California, 2001).

[8]Saloni Mathur, *India by Design*: *Colonial History and Cultural Display* (London: University of California Press, 2007).

many cases, the visitors did not remember what they saw.[9] Similarly, while examining the English, Indian and Australian exhibitions, Hoffenberg contends that the exhibition commissioners and the visitors had mixed feelings and responses such as dissent, tensions, agreements, so that "the effects of the exhibitions were not unidirectional, not completely controlled by an *a priori* determinism, but shaped by the nearly limitless fantasy of public participation".[10] Mathur, by narrating the story of a Punjabi villager, Tulsi Ram, who went to London to settle his land dispute but was arrested and then hired as an artisan for display at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition (1886), explains "the mechanisms of social control" in organizing the event and stresses "the subjectivities of the men on display to challenge the dominant archive of exhibition propaganda". [11]

Following Bloembergen, Hoffenberg and Mathur, I propose that the colonial state conceived nineteenth-century exhibitions on Punjab as a hegemonic institution but the curators faced unanticipated challenges that undermined the intended objectives. These unexpected challenges were: problems in the process of collection, classification, and designing of the exhibition spaces; contestations while judging the exhibits; and the responses of the Punjabi artisans. The perspectives of the colonial curators, jurors and their local collaborators show a multiplicity of opinions such as consensus, disagreements, pro and anti-colonial sentiments, anxiety, curiosity, surprises and joy. Thus the colonial exhibitions on Punjab cannot be viewed as a controlled and well-organized institution. To explain this perspective, I will focus on three exhibitions: the first Punjab exhibition (FPE) of 1864, and the second Punjab exhibition (SPE) of 1881-82, both held in Lahore; and the Calcutta International Exhibition (CIE), organized in 1883-84.

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[9]Bloembergen, *Colonial Spectacles*, p. 15.
[10]Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, pp. xvii-xviii.
[11]Mathur, *India by Design*, p. 23.

4.1.1. The Objectives of the Exhibitions

The aim of the colonial exhibitions was to encourage the "Oriental designs" and to revive the half-forgotten crafts so as to increase the market for these items, especially overseas. So the exhibitions worked as trade shows where the British and the local traders could select items for export, and where the juries deliberated to improve the quality of the exhibits; the state assumed the "moral" responsibility for guiding the craftsmen in developing their skills to compete in the global market. In this section, I will espouse the hegemonic intention of promoting trade under the garb of moral responsibility as the main objective of the exhibitions.

After Napoleon Bonaparte's defeat in 1815, the French government adopted protectionist policies to safeguard its domestic industry from British imports. In the 1850s and the 60s, Napoleon III tried to establish good political and commercial ties with Britain. During this period, the British state, in an attempt to control the trade in Europe and elsewhere, repealed the Corn and Navigation laws, reduced tariffs,[12] reformed art instruction at home and organized exhibitions to explore the potential for expanding its trade. As a result, British exports increased from 40,000,000 pounds to approximately 240,000,000 pounds between 1840 and 1871.[13]

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[12]The Corn Laws (1846) were repealed, for its effects see, J.S. Nicholson, *The History of the English Corn Laws* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1904). The Navigation Laws (1849) were also repealed. For its impact on trade, see John Lewis Ricardo, *The Anatomy of the Navigation Laws* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1847), pp. 39-45. For the effects of tariff reductions, see W.E. Gladstone, *The Financial Statements of 1853, 1860-1863* (London: John Murray, 1863), pp. 178-80, 187-224. In 1860, the Cobden-Chevalier treaty allowed the British imports in France. See A.A. Iliasu, "The Cobden-Chevalier Commercial Treaty of 1860", *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 14 (1), (1971), pp. 67-98.

[13] Richard Tames, *Economy and Society in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), p. 85.

One reading of the Great Exhibition of 1851 is in this context of economic competition. Soon after the exhibition, on 24 November 1852, Henry Cole presided over a meeting of the Society of Arts in London and presented a report on the activities of the society.[14] This report is important because it was to define the objectives and modalities of future exhibitions in the British colonies. In his scheme for organizing a series of exhibitions, Cole laid emphasis on the involvement of local partners, especially the societies for the promotion of local arts and manufacturing. The society collected trade reports and statistics about the products in the colonies for organizing the exhibitions. Cole himself compiled the lists of inventors, manufacturers and traders involved in the Great Exhibition as a reference manual for the exhibition commissioners. In the same meeting, he stressed to display the Indian products in the Dublin exhibition (1853) which could help the British to identify the potential export items from the subcontinent. From the 1850s onwards, the British state tied together exhibitions and trade.

In India, a close link between trade and exhibitions became significant in the 1860s, when the colonial administrators followed Cole's guidelines and started engaging manufacturers and traders in holding the events. The administrators collected statistics regarding the raw produce and the manufactured commodities, which could be helpful for boosting trade. The 1860s inaugurated an age of exhibitions in upper India. In 1864, the First Bengal Agricultural Exhibition was organized in Calcutta.[15] In the same year, the FPE was held in Lahore, and

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[14] "First Ordinary Meeting, Wednesday, November 24, 1852" , *The Journal of the Society of Arts, and of the Institutions in Union,* Vol. I, November 26, 1852 to November 11, 1853 (London: The Society of Arts, 1853), pp. 1-4.

[15]By organizing the cattle-show and displaying the livestock, agricultural equipment, crops and raw material, the objective of the Bengal exhibition was to see what the province could produce. The organizers also allowed the European and the local manufacturers to display their machinery which the farmers could purchase to increase their produce. "The First Bengal Agricultural Exhibition" in *The Calcutta Review,* Vol. XL (Calcutta: R.C. Lepage & Co., 1864), pp. 227-45.

then in 1867, the Exhibition of Works of Art and Industry of the North West Provinces was arranged at Agra.[16] The objectives of all these three exhibitions were related to trade.

The colonial state approached the FPE with the objective of exploring different means which could be economically beneficial for the state and British traders as well. After the exhibition, Baden-Powell, the curator, compiled a "Hand-Book of the Economic Products of the Punjab" in two volumes describing the raw products and the industrial arts of the province. [17] Following Cole's guideline, Baden-Powell collected details of the raw material and industrial arts in each district of the province, the potential export items, the yearly estimated volume of trade between Punjab and other cities (such as Bukhara, Kabul, Bombay and Calcutta), per annum estimates of internal trade in Punjab; yearly estimated imports of the European goods in Punjab; the trade routes in the province, etc.[18] Powell's compilation clearly shows the Utilitarian interests of the colonial state to incorporate the local cultivators and artisans in the global economy.

In the FPE, the appreciation of the organizers for "Oriental patterns" and the British supervision of the local craftsmen, also reflect the interests of the English middle class in promoting trade. As the Oriental patterns were very popular in nineteenth-century Europe,[19]

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[16]The exhibition at Agra intended to explore the potential of exporting raw material and industrial arts from the North-Western provinces, and to introduce the European machines among the local agriculturists. *General Report of the North-West Provinces Exhibition* (Roorkee: Thomason Civil Engineering Press, 1868). The European traders selected a few items, such as silk fibre, from the exhibition for exports. See Leonard Wray, "On Indian Fibres" in *The Journal of the Society of Arts, and of the Institutions in Union,* Vol. XVII, November 27, 1868 to November 12, 1869 (London: The Society of Arts, 1869), p. 455.

[17]Baden Henry Baden-Powell, *Hand-book of the Economic Products of the Punjab*, Vol. I (Economic Raw Produce), (Roorkee: Thomson Civil Engineering College Press, 1868); Baden Henry Baden-Powell, *Hand-book of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab*, Vol. II (Lahore: Punjab Printing Company, 1872).

[18]Baden-Powell, *Hand-book of the Economic Products,* Vol. I, pp. i-xxxv.

[19]For the use of "Oriental design" in European furniture, see Harriet Prescott Spofford, *Art Decoration Applied to Furniture* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1878), pp. 144, 161-7. The Kashmiri shawls

the organizers appreciated such designs in the exhibition and argued that under the British supervision, the local artisans could produce the best articles for exports.[20] So, on the one hand, they criticised the influence of the British imports, and, on the other, they encouraged the British supervision to intervene in the local craft practices to protect the interests of the colonial traders.

In 1881-82, the colonial state formally set forth the guiding principles for exhibitions. E.C. Buck, secretary to the government of India, asked the provincial governments to organize exhibitions and establish museums only for "the promotion of trade in the commercial products of India, the improvement of ordinary manufactures, the promotion of trade in ordinary manufactures, the improvement of art manufactures, the promotion of trade in art manufactures".[21] In the same year, the government of Punjab organized the SPE. The objectives were two-fold: to document the progress of the local industry and "to encourage … genuine native work of original Oriental design".[22] Baden-Powell who drafted the publicity material explained that the idea of preserving the "indigenous styles" in different crafts was to explore the various usages of the local articles which could be adapted for exports to

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were so popular in nineteenth-century France and England that the manufacturers tried to produce them through various means. See "Cashmere, or Cachemere" in *The Supplement to the Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,* Vol. I (London: Charles Knight and Co., 1851), p. 238.

[20]Baden-Powell appreciated the Punjabi check silk (*daryai charkhanah*) because it was popular among the European women. Similarly, he considered embroidery in Multan, Bahawalpur and Kashmir of fascinating Oriental patterns, which could be sold in Europe. Powell argued that the intervention of European traders and instructors/supervisors in the industrial arts was beneficial to the locals, as reflected in the exhibits of leather products and cutlery. Baden-Powell, *Hand-book of the Manufactures and Arts,* Vol. II, pp. IX, XV-XVI.

[21]"Resolution of the Government of India and Draft Scheme regarding Museums, Exhibitions and Art Journals by E.C. Buck, Secretary to the Government of India (1881)", *Journal of Indian Art and Industry,* Vol. I (1), (January 1884), pp. 3-4.

[22]"Lt.-Governor's Resolution, --- No. 219 S., dated 23rd July 1880" in *Report on the Punjab Exhibition, 1881-82, Selections from the Records of the Government of the Punjab and its Dependencies,* New Series—No. XXII (Lahore: Punjab Government Secretariat Press, 1883), p. 1.

Europe.[23] This objective of keeping the Punjabi products "indigenous" in style but suitable for the global market, was not possible without reducing their manufacturing cost. So "cheap" but "artistic" products were a concern of the organizers.[24]

To promote Oriental designs in the industrial arts, E.C. Buck, J.L. Kipling, and a publisher from London, William Griggs, inaugurated the *Journal of Indian Art* (significantly renamed the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* in 1894).[25] Kipling and then George Birdwood edited its various volumes. They published exhibition reports, and commentaries on industrial arts (textile, pottery, metalwork, wood and ivory-carving) and architecture of different regions such as Punjab, Madras and Bengal. The journal served as a means of networking among the British bureaucracy, traders, manufacturers, consumers, art critics and the students of art schools. Griggs regularly published it from 1884 to 1917, each issue was priced at Rs 2; out of 2000 copies, one thousand were distributed in India while the rest in Britain to attract the overseas traders and consumers of Indian crafts.

Keeping in line with Buck's guideline, other exhibitions such as the CIE and the Delhi Exhibition (1902-03), also aimed at exploring the potential for trade, as reflected in the exhibition publications. For instance, George Watt, a Botany professor at Calcutta University, compiled a seven-volume catalogue of the "economic products of India" which were

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[23]"Memorandum on the Exhibition of Industrial Art and Manufactures, 1881, by B.H. Baden-Powell, Esquire, Officiating Commissioner and Superintendent, Umballa Division" in Ibid., pp. 4-5.
[24]The criteria set for the prizes involved, cheap, artistic, native and traditional articles which could be "adapted to European (or any other) use or fashion…". Ibid., p. 5.
[25]Deepali Dewan, "Scripting South Asia's Visual Past: *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry* and the Production of Knowledge in the Late Nineteenth Century" in Julie F. Codell (ed.), *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press* (London: Associated University Presses, 2003), pp. 29-44. Also see Peter H. Hoffenberg, "Promoting Traditional Indian Art at Home and Abroad: The Journal of Indian Art and Industry (1884-1917)", *Victorian Periodicals Review,* Vo.37 (2), (Summer 2004), pp. 192-213.

exhibited in the CIE[26] and then he co-authored a catalogue for the Delhi exhibition (1903).[27] These publications provided the basic information which a trader required to plan his business, such as availability of the products, suitability of raw materials for various industries, details of manufacturing processes, colour composition, designs, durability, and prices of all the exhibits, and potential markets for these items, etc. Such compilations show that the objective of the colonial exhibitions to facilitate British traders remained consistent throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.[28]

Despite the clear economic rationale, the organizers used the moral reason of preserving the local traditions to justify the colonial exhibitions. It was a convergence of interests between those British officials who took interest in promoting trade and those who wished to protect the "ancient heritage" of Europe in contemporary Punjab.[29] But in this convergence of interest lay a contradiction. On the one hand, the organizers intended to preserve the traditional designs by integrating artisans in the global market which could also ensure the well-being of local artisans; on the other, the organizers also wanted to protect the artisans from the interference of European exporters. This contradiction persisted throughout the nineteenth century; the British administrators struggled to define the role of European trade in improving the local crafts.

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[26]George Watt, *Economic Products of India, Exhibited in the Economic Court, Calcutta International Exhibition, 1883-84*, Parts I-VII (Calcutta, Government Printing Press, 1883). These parts comprised details about gums and resins, dyes, tans, and mordants, fibres, oils, soaps, medicinal products, timbers, etc. Watt also compiled the *Dictionary of the Commercial Products of India* in ten volumes.
[27]George Watt and Percy Brown, *Indian Art at Delhi, 1903. Being the Official Catalogue of the Delhi Exhibition, 1902-1903* (Calcutta: Government Printing Press, 1903).
[28]British trade grew of 222% from 1870 to 1913. The exports plus imports as a share of GDP increased from 43.6 % (1871) to 51.2 % (1913). Guillaume Daudin, Matthias Morys, and Kevin H. O'Rourke, "Globalization, 1870-1914" in Stephen Broadberry and Kevin H. O'Rourke (ed.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Europe, 1870 to the Present*, Vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 5-29.
[29]"Jury Report on Furniture and Wood-Carving" in Baden-Powell, *Hand-book of the Manufactures and Arts*, Vol. II, pp. 206-7; *Report on the Punjab Exhibition, 1881-82*, pp. 1,4,14.

To justify the exhibitions, the organizers argued that economic well-being of the local artisans and the promotion of crafts was only possible with "education", which the Europeans could impart. The curators assumed moral responsibility for educating the artisans. Punjabi artisans, elite and general public would study their own tradition by participating in the exhibitions and they would understand what was best about their own crafts. I will give a few examples from the FPE and the SPE to illustrate this aspect.

In the FPE, Baden-Powell opined that the Punjabi artisans, like elsewhere in India, showed a remarkable quality of using different colours with their empirical knowledge.[30] The British could teach them the theory of craft, which they inherited from the ancient Greeks and the Romans, so the artisans would avoid imitations, or exaggeration of colours, and produce a variety of designs.[31] The jury on furniture and wood-carving justified the European guidance on similar moral grounds; the Europeans could best instruct the locals technically according to the "local climate" and the "natural state" by keeping the prices "moderately cheap".[32]

In the SPE, the organizers also claimed to educate the local artisans about the difference between pure oriental designs and the "ill-understood adaptation or thoughtless imitation".[33] Robert Edgerton, Lt.-Governor of Punjab, in his inaugural address on the occasion, highlighted the moral responsibility of the government "to set examples of design and method … to guide the public taste" without interfering in the trade.[34] Edgerton contended that the Punjabi artisans would be able to compete in the global market, if they could improve

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[30]Baden-Powell, *Hand-book of the Manufactures and Arts*, Vol. II, pp. xiii-viv.
[31]"Jury Report on the Fine Art Specimen" in Ibid., pp. 354-5.
[32]"Jury Report on Furniture and Wood-Carving" in Ibid., pp. 206-8.
[33]"…the Exhibition is a means of instruction in a general and popular sense, it has a more direct educational bearing… to foster the literature and learning which are indigenous to the soil and congenial to the people…". The address of the exhibition committee read by J.B. Lyall, financial commissioner of the Punjab, quoted in *Report on the Punjab Exhibition, 1881-82*, pp. 14-5.
[34]"Address of the Lt.-Governor" in Ibid., p. 19.

their products by educating themselves. This assertion of guiding the public taste without interfering in the trade points out to the state's intention of reconciling the moral responsibility with the economic interests. The state would help the local artisans to know the demand for oriental products in the market but would not take any step to ensure the availability of cheap raw material (which was rapidly flowing to the European industries) and would not impose taxes on the (sub-standard) European imports to Punjab. In other words, the moral assertion of educating the artisans through the exhibitions was deeply rooted in the economic interests of the state and the English middle class. With the same objectives, many jurors in the SPE, proposed changes in the designs to make the exhibited articles suitable for the European markets.[35] The jurors believed that they were educating the local artisans so as to ensure their well-being.

4.1.2. The Collection of Objects

The scholarship on nineteenth-century Punjab identifies a complex relationship between the British civil and military administration and the locals.[36] The Anglo-Sikh wars in the 1840s and the revolt in 1857 increased the gulf between the British and their local collaborators, on the one hand, and the (anti-British) locals, on the other, resulting in the limited involvement of Punjabis in the colonial administration.[37] With the British annexation of Punjab in 1849,

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[35]For examples, see "Reports of the Jury, Silks, Patoli Work & Embroideries", in Ibid., pp. 62-7; "Reports of the Jury, Metal-Work", and "Report of the Jury, Wood-Work", in Ibid., pp. 69, 87.

[36]P.H.M. van den Dungen, *The Punjab Tradition: Influence and Authority in Nineteenth-Century India* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1972); Richard G. Fox, *Lions of the Punjab: Culture in the Making* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Tan Tai Yong, *The Garrison State: The Military, Government and Society in Colonial Punjab, 1849-1947* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005); Surya Kant, "Administrative Space in the British Punjab" in Reeta Grewal & Sheena Pall (eds.), *Precolonial and Colonial Punjab: Society, Economy, Politics and Culture* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2005), pp. 215-26.

[37]For this suspicious relationship between the British and local Punjabis and its effects on the recruitment patterns in the British army, see Yong, *The Garrison State*, pp. 31-69. This suspicious relationship is also reflected in the repressive measures by the local police against the Sikhs. See

the foremost objective of the colonial administration was to establish the writ of the state by eliminating the rebellious elements and enforcing the laws, carrying on surveillance of the locals, devising and executing policies for tax collection. The British officials were supposed to remain impersonal in their interaction with the local population. In this context, the colonial state organized the exhibitions by relying exclusively on its administrative apparatus for constructing the exhibition sites, collecting and judging the exhibits, etc. Here I am concerned with the hierarchical structure of the administration which worked in collaboration with the local elite to collect the exhibits.

For collecting the exhibits, the colonial administration relied on a three-tiered structure. The central committee was at the top,[38] followed by the district committees[39] and at the town and village level, operated the local committees.[40] The local committees comprised the revenue

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Kripal Chandra Yadav, *Punjab: Colonial Challenge and Popular Response, 1849-1947* (New Delhi: Hope India Publications, 2003). For the details of prominent families in Punjab, who cooperated with the British, see Syed Aulaad Ali Gilani, *Muraqa-e- Multan* (Lahore : Jazib Publishers, 1995 [1930s?], reprinted); Charles Francis Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Dehli, Jalandhar, Peshawar and Derajat Divisions of the Panjab* (Allahabad: The Pioneer Press, 1890).

[38]The function of the central committee was to make arrangements at the site of exhibition, coordinate with the other committees for securing the specimen, classify the objects, select the juries, publish the catalogues and the post-exhibition literature. High rank government officials from the military and the civil bureaucracy were included in it. For instance, in the SPE, the central committee comprised nine British and five local members. The British members were J.B. Lyall (financial commissioner of Punjab), A. Brandreth (Officiating Judge, Chief Court), Colonel W.G. Davies (Commissioner and Superintendent, Jullundur Division), W.C. Coldstream (Officiating Commissioner and Superintendent, Lahore Division), Baden-Powell (Officiating Commissioner and Superintendent, Umballa Division), Maj-Gen. C. Pollard (secretary to government, Punjab, PWD), Maj. P.D. Henderson (CSI), G.J. Ryall, and J.L. Kipling. While the locals were, Rai Mul Singh, Sardar Dial Singh, Haji Gholam Hussain, Rai Kallian Singh, and Lala Ram Kishen Das.

[39]The district committees worked under the central committee and the deputy commissioners of each district headed their respective committees. They also included notable local personalities in the committees.

[40]Under the district committees were the local committees, which comprised the British revenue officials such *tahsildars* (in-charge of the revenue in *tahsil*, a sub-unit of a district, with some judicial authority), *qannongoh* (an assistant of *tasildar*) and *putwarri* (a revenue official in a village) and local notables. The local revenue officials rigorously collected the taxes and were considered lynchpin of the colonial administration in their respective localities. Sometimes, they used official positions to take undue benefits which also created a gulf between the state and the local population. For the role of the tax collector (*qannonqoh*) see "Financial Circular Orders, Extracts from a letter no. 1614 dated

officers who hardly possessed any knowledge of crafts. Despite having an altogether different background, the local committees were supposed to "exercise care and taste in ordering and accepting specimens of work, and in seeing that it conforms to the essential principle [of the exhibition]".[41] These committees also negotiated with the village artisans.[42]

A major problem in this process of collection was the difficult relationship of the British officials with the local artisans due to their responsibility for assessing and collecting the taxes. The fears and the suspicions about each other made it impossible for the British to interact with the locals and convince them to participate in the exhibitions. It is because of this reason that the curators in the SPE and the CIE consistently questioned the performance of the committees. These local committees sent the exhibits very late; sometimes, they could not understand the objectives of the exhibitions,[43] and collected exhibits the curators did not want. [44] On a number of occasions, the local committees did not collect the speciality of a district, resulting in downsized or no representation at all of their areas;[45] in many cases, the

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12 December 1868, from T.H. Thronton, Secretary to Government Punjab, to W. Coldstream, Officiating Secretary to Financial Commissioner Punjab" in *Punjab Record, or Reference Book for Civil Officers,* Vol. IV (Lahore: The Punjab Printing Company, 1869), p.16. For the misuse of authority by *tahsildar* see "Financial Circular Orders, Book Circular no. 15 of 1869, Circular no. 65 of 1869, Lahore, dated 12 July 1869" in ibid., pp. 16-7.

[41]"Memorandum on the Exhibition of Industrial Art and Manufactures, 1881, by B.H. Baden Powell", in *Report on the Punjab Exhibition (1881-82),* pp. 11-2.

[42]The responsibility of the *tahsildar* in the local committees was to compile a list of probable exhibits and estimated cost. After the approval of this list by the district committees, *tahsildar* and the village elite were supposed to purchase, or personally oversee the preparation of the articles. Approval of the district committee did not mean that they had personally examined those exhibits.

[43]In the SPE, Kipling reported that the local committee in Hazara district could not understand the scope of the exhibition and a British officer, Lt. Leigh, when transferred to that district explained the objectives, resulting in the last minute contribution of the district.

[44]In the SPE, the local committee in Gurgaon district sent its contributions, after the inauguration of the exhibition. Similarly the committee in Karnal district sent the articles late, which only comprised two or three exhibits from a town, Panipat. Also, the organizers were unhappy over the contributions of the local committees in Banu and Rawalpindi which sent a few specimen. "From J.L. Kipling, Honorary Secretary, Punjab Exhibition, 1881, to the Secretary to Government, Punjab". No. 673, dated March 1882, Lahore in *Report on the Punjab Exhibition (1881-82),* pp. 24-6.

[45]"Hissar sends a blanket, from the jail, of fair price and good rough texture. It seems extraordinary that Karnal, Rohtak and Hissar are only represented by this one sample, when, as is well known, large

collected objects were new to the curators, who were unsure about their suitability to the exhibitions.[46] In one of the exhibition reports, Kipling mentioned that the collection could have been much better had the central committee directly negotiated with the artisans rather than engaging the district officers,[47] showing his apprehensions about the ability of the British officials involved in collecting.

These exhibitions were aimed to represent the "exact state" of the local craftsmanship and "original oriental designs" which could be exported, but this objective could not be achieved as intended due to the colonial bureaucratic structure. The local committees were not the only factor in undermining the agenda of collection; in fact, the artisans were also reluctant to participate in these exhibitions, as I will discuss in this chapter.

4.1.3. Designing the Exhibition Space

Several scholars such as Graeme Davison, Pieter van Wesemael and Peter Hoffenberg view exhibition sites as a space where the curators aimed to control the movement and the ideas of visitors. While analysing the Great Exhibition, Davison argues that the exhibition site can be likened to a prison, school or an asylum, which performs the function of surveillance of the participants.[48] Similarly, Wesemael in his study of the French exhibition of 1889 contends that various ministries of the French government such as the education, the Fine Arts, the

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quantities of blankets are yearly produced, and these districts have been famous for their blankets for many years". "Report of Jury, Woollen Textiles" in Ibid., p. 52.

[46]In the CIE, the local committees sent those articles which were neither approved by the central committee nor seen by them. The organizers were unsure about the utility of this collection. J.L. Kipling reports: "Many of the articles were not seen by president [Baden-Powell] or secretary [Kipling] of the [central] committee till it was time to despatch them to Calcutta, when it was too late for alterations, additions, &c."J.L. Kipling, "Report on the Punjab Court, Calcutta International Exhibition 1883" in Samina Choonara (ed), *"Official" Chronicle of the Mayo School of Art: Formative Years under JL Kipling (1874-94)* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2003), p. 102.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Graeme Davison, "Exhibitions", *Australian Cultural History*, No. 2 (1982-83), p. 7.

industry, established their stalls and invited other countries to participate within the same categories. In this way, the French government proved its superiority over other states due to its numerical strength.[49] Hoffenberg also proposes that the exhibition sites were designed to communicate the imperial ideology. On the one hand, such well-conceived plans of exhibition showed the authority, on the other, they led to the resentment among the visitors, who disliked colonial rule.[50]

Unlike Davison, Wesemael and Hoffenberg, I argue that disorder underlay the apparently ordered sites of the colonial exhibition on Punjab. This aspect shows the limitations of exhibitions in furthering the colonial state's hegemonic agenda. Such disorder contributed to generating discordant voices in the events. I will highlight this disorder in the construction of exhibition buildings and the arrangement of objects at the stalls.

In Punjab, the colonial administrators made temporary arrangements to organize the exhibitions by assigning the task of constructing the buildings and halls to the PWD engineers. The organizers were more concerned with the limited funds, time constraints and technical details rather than associating any ideological meaning to the design. For instance, in 1864, the FPE was organized in Lahore. Edwin E. Baines, the district engineer in the Punjab Railways, designed and supervised the construction of exhibition building. Baines selected the "English Belgian Gothic" style for the building because it was similar to the surrounding buildings and it "would allow freedom of treatment".[51] The exhibition records do

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[49]Pieter van Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight: A Socio-historical Analysis of World Exhibitions as a Didactic Phenomenon (1789-1851-1970)* (Amsterdam: Rotterdam, 2001), pp. 346-7.
[50]Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, p. 262.
[51]Baines completed the building within a period of six months (June-Dec 1863) with a cost of sixty thousand rupees and workforce of an average one thousand persons per day. "Punjab Exhibition Building" in J.G. Medley (ed.), *Professional Papers on Indian Engineering*, Vol. I, 1863-64 (Roorkee: Thomason College Press, 1864), p. 311.

not mention any ideological consideration behind the selection of the design. This temporary building was planned to be dismantled soon after the exhibition, but later on, it was used as the museum because the state refused to provide any fund for the construction of a museum building (illustration 58).

The SPE was also organized in Lahore in a temporarily constructed structure connecting a late Mughal style building, Chauburji, and the MSA.[52] Rai Kanhya Lal, executive engineer in the PWD, designed the building. He was mainly involved in building residences and offices for the British officers by employing European techniques as practiced in the PWD, which were meant to manage the underfunded architectural projects. He used light iron frames to support the structure temporarily. The construction was completed just two weeks before the exhibition, which left no time for Kipling and his associates to design and decorate the stalls; despite their plans they could not use any traditional decorative motifs.[53] Kipling did not discuss the style of the building with the engineer; his only concerns were limited space, time constraints and the increasing expenditure. Soon after the event, this building was demolished. The construction of both exhibition buildings shows that the curators had no intention of using architecture as an ideological statement by presenting the image of a liberal empire.

J.L. Kipling, who was responsible for setting up the Punjab court in the CIE, derided the court as a "Steward's pantry on shipboard" because of the overcrowded exhibits.[54] This problem of overcrowded stalls is significant as it negates the argument of a well-planned

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[52]The building was three hundred feet long covering a total area of ten thousand feet. It was completed with a cost of almost 12500 Rs.

[53]From J.L. Kipling, Esquire, Honorary Secretary, Punjab Exhibition, 1881 to the Secretary to Government, Punjab. Letter no. 673/March 1882, Lahore, in *Report on the Punjab Exhibition (1881-82)*, p. 33.

[54] Kipling, "Report on Punjab Court, Calcutta International Exhibition 1883-84", p. 109.

arrangement of the exhibits to disseminate the hegemonic perspectives of the organizers. I propose that in the exhibitions on Punjab, the exhibition committees displayed too many objects within a limited space, something that not only distracted the viewers, but it also confused the organizers about the scope and classification of the exhibits. The curators could not show what they intended and the display at various stalls looked like a warehouse or a shop overcrowded with articles, or bazaar. The organizing committees consistently expressed this problem in the exhibition reports. I shall provide three examples to argue my point.

In the FPE, the organizers showcased over 11,100 articles in four categories, namely, raw products, art manufacturing, fine arts and machines, divided into thirty-five sub-categories**.** After the event, Baden-Powell, the curator of the exhibition, compiled a two-volume catalogue, which took him almost four years to write.[55] Powell and his associates approached the exhibits with some preconceived classifications; however, they could not find suitable exhibits for several subcategories in the machines and the fine arts which remained unrepresented.[56] Similarly, the classifications of hand-woven and worked shawls, and embroidery were confusing. The same type of specimen could be placed within these categories; the organizers treated embroidery as worked shawls and sometimes as hand-woven specimen. Baden-Powell admitted that the classifications were misleading and could not be retained as such in the post-exhibition literature.[57] The administrators realized that due

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[55]Baden-Powell, *Hand-book of the Economic Products,* Vol. I, pp.xxx-xxxv (for the classification of the exhibits). Baden-Powell, *Hand-book of the Manufactures and Arts,* Vol. II.

[56]For instance, in the category c (machines), the class xxi of "prime movers", class xxii (division ii of machines) representing "machines for raising weights", class xxiv (machines) representing "mechanical and philosophical instruments", class xxx representing photographic apparatus were "unrepresented". Baden-Powell, *Hand-book of the Manufactures and Arts,* Vol. II, pp. xxiii-xxv. In 'fine arts' one category (class xxxii) was unrepresented.

[57]Baden-Powell writes: "The shawls, both loom-woven and needle-worked, were submitted for inspection to the same Jury which examined the Embroidery class. As most of their [jury's] report relates to shawls, it is annexed to this class. I have already called attention to the impossibility of retaining the old classification in the original catalogue: not only woven and worked shawls

to their limited knowledge about Punjab, they could not classify every exhibit and needed local collaborators to rectify this problem; the scope of exhibitions could be more focussed to influence the local artisans.[58] In other words, in the FPE, the curators could not "communicate" with the visitors because of the too wide scope of the exhibition.

Seventeen years later in the SPE, the organizers included more locals in the juries and focussed on the industrial arts only. The exhibition committee showcased approximately four thousand articles categorized in eleven classes.[59] The organizers faced problems in arranging the display because of insufficient space and received many articles at the last moment. The walls of exhibition halls, galleries and spaces above the showcases were covered with carpets and textile products which should be displayed within their respective districts of origin. For such a large number of exhibits, Kipling had to collect showcases and benches from various educational institutions and the museum besides ordering benches made "in the cheapest possible manner".[60] Like the FPE, the organizers of this exhibition were also unable to arrange the display as intended, and the visitors were distracted because of the overcrowded stalls.[61]

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indiscriminately admitted with embroidery but plain Rampuri chaddars and alwans, because they are dominated 'shawls', went thither also". Baden-Powell's note on the "Jury's Report on Pashmina Fabrics other than Shawls" in Ibid., p. 52.

[58]"Memorandum on the Exhibition of Industrial Art and Manufactures, 1881, by B.H. Baden-Powell" in *Report on the Punjab Exhibition, 1881-82,* p. 4.

[59]See table and *Catalogue of the Punjab Exhibition of Art and Manufactures held at Lahore, 1881-82* (Lahore: n.p., 1881) for the details of articles, their maker and prices of each exhibit.

[60]"From J.L. Kipling, Esquire, Honorary Secretary, Punjab Exhibition, 1881 to the Secretary to Government, Punjab", Letter no. 673/March 1882, Lahore, in *Report on the Punjab Exhibition (1881-82)*, p. 33.

[61]While acknowledging the problems in this arrangement, J.L. Kipling writes: "in theory, it is necessary to produce a really harmonious effect to have the materials of a display in hand. It may be doubted, however, whether the arrangement of any exhibition was ever accomplished on these favourable terms". Ibid., p. 34.

The problem of overcrowded space again emerged in the CIE. The Punjab court had more space than any other region except Bengal, yet it was not enough to display over 5000 objects, which included carpets, textiles, woodwork, jewellery, musical instruments, etc. Kipling records: "the walls, roof, and floor space being as closely packed as a steward's pantry on shipboard, the court was liable to the criticism of being appearing overcrowded". [62] The organizers hanged carpets and textile products wherever they found empty spaces. The large showcases, which according to Kipling, had no important exhibits, covered the key objects such as the Multani and Delhi pottery. In this exhibition as well, the organizers could not identify suitable categories for many exhibits such as the embroidery showing Indian mythology, steel-engraving, etc. (see illustration 60). In other words, the arrangements of the exhibits in the colonial exhibitions on Punjab were not neatly classified, which could generate a hegemonic discourse.

4.1.4. Discordant Voices in Representation

Hoffenberg suggests that the colonial exhibition commissioners sometimes produced and organized "knowledge [that] challenged imperial control of science, art, and public history", the post-exhibition literature questioned "the Victorians' capacities and imagination, revealing their struggle to enframe the known world".[63] This argument is also relevant to the exhibitions on Punjab where the administrators and the jurors struggled to grasp the different world around them. The exhibitions were a site of contestation where the jurors with diverse background and experiences held discordant views about the local craftsmanship.[64] Here, I will mention four different voices frequently indicated in the exhibition reports, which were

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[62] Kipling, "Report on Punjab Court, Calcutta International Exhibition 1883-84", p. 109.
[63]Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, pp. 12-3.
[64]These jurors were Europeans, locals, military officers, civil servants, art teachers, art connoisseurs, traders and so on.

of appreciation, criticism, disputes over best specimens, and of curiosity or inability to judge the exhibits. These discordant voices suggest that various circles within the state perceived the local craft practices differently and it is misleading to understand the colonial exhibitions within a dominant imperial ideology.

In the exhibitions on Punjab, the jurors appreciated the domestic articles, found them to be original in design and typical examples of the local art executed with excellent skills, better than the European versions. For instance, in the FPE, the jury appreciated the *lungis* (cloth worn around waist) because of their material and design. These *lungis* and *ghati* cloths had "texture, remarkably fine" and were "among the most excellent of the native fabrics exhibited", according to the exhibition report.[65] The jury expressed a similar opinion about the design and fabrics of s*usi* (a loosely fitted male trouser). In the same exhibition, the judges liked all the exhibits in the category of shawls and embroidery and decided to award them shared prizes. They requested the government to raise the award money because many artisans could not be given awards due to the limited prize money.[66] This appreciation was not restricted to only one category or exhibition; in fact, the colonial jurors praised a wide range of exhibits in all other exhibitions such as the SPE[67] and the CIE. [68]

In the previous chapter, I discussed the perception among the colonial administrators who believed that the Punjabi artisans lacked a "correct perspective"; they had no sense of suitable

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[65]Baden-Powell, *Hand-book of the Manufactures and Arts*, Vol. II, p. 16.
[66]Ibid., p. 53.
[67]In the SPE, the juries viewed the Umballa's seal-engravings "probably the best", the cotton manufactures from Ludhiana were "generally of good quality" because of fine fabric, richness in colours and good texture. Likewise, "the exhibits from Sultanpur, in Kapurthala, are remarkable for excellence of weaving, moderation of price, and clearness and regularity of printing", they observed "exceptionally" high printed quality of cotton exhibits from Lahore. "Reports of the Juries, Punjab Exhibition 1881-82" in *Report on the Punjab Exhibition (1881-82)*, pp. 49, 51.
[68]In the CIE, the jury praised the furniture from Gujrat, glazed pottery and *kashi* tiles from Multan, Lahore, Delhi and Agra, specimen of ivory-cutting from Amritsar, and brass-inlay work from Chiniot. Kipling, "Report of Punjab Court, Calcutta International Exhibition 1883", pp. 113, 117, 123.

colours, fine material or good designs. However, in the above mentioned examples, the jurors appreciated the articles because of fine material, excellent designs, rich colours and moderate or cheap prices. This appreciation might be due to the suitability of the articles for the trade, or the jurors could be genuinely impressed, in any case, such appreciation challenged the justification of colonial art education in Punjab. The jurors found among "illiterate" artisans all those qualities that the art schools intended to introduce through theoretical and practical instruction. In the exhibitions, the organizers contradicted a widely accepted view of the decadence of craft and the responsibility of the state for its revival.[69]

Besides the appreciation, some jurors in the exhibitions on Punjab also criticised the exhibits. I will focus on the display of "fine arts". In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, due to the economic and political crisis, painters in the Mughal court began to join either the regional kingdoms or the EIC, and many of them worked in bazaar. During the same period, several British critics began to question the tradition of fine art in India,[70] and the sense of a superior western tradition was re-enforced as many regional kingdoms employed European painters.[71] The jurors in Punjab viewed local paintings in this context.

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[69]See Kipling's comments, in Ibid., p.131.

[70]George Birdwood opines: "The monstrous shapes of the puranic deities are unsuitable for the highest forms of artistic representation and this is possibly why sculpture and painting are unknown as fine arts in India". George C.M. Birdwood, *The Industrial Arts of India* (London: Committee on Council of Education, 1880), p. 125. Monier Williams writes: "Not a single fine large painting nor beautiful statue is to be seen throughout India. Even the images of gods are only remarkable for their utter hideousness". Monier Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism; or, Religious Thought and Life in India, as based on the Veda and other sacred books of the Hindus* (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1891, 4th edition), p. 469.

[71]Partha Mitter, "Status and Patronage of Artists during British Rule in India (c. 1850-1900)", in Barbara Stolen Miller (ed.), *The Powers of Art: Patronage in Indian Culture* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 279-80.

The colonial administrators in Punjab believed that the local artisan-painters were not knowledgeable enough to paint.[72] While acknowledging that the Europeans could not judge the local paintings conceptually, at the "mechanical level" the jurors in various exhibitions found problems in drawing, colour and overall scheme. The skills of local painters were reported to be "inferior" and of "low order".[73] At the same time, the jurors praised those who painted landscapes and human figures.[74] Similarly, in the SPE, the jurors criticised the paintings on account of colour composition and mythological themes.[75]

The jurors' criticism of paintings shows their struggle to understand the local tradition from the allegedly superior tradition of the fine arts. In many cases, the jurors expressed their inability to comment on the religious or mythological themes; rather, they focussed on the drawing and colour composition. Whenever they judged a painting which they could understand thematically, they appreciated the work.[76] This aspect shows that the colonial administrators failed to realize that the traditional themes and styles had a strong relation to the techniques.[77] The problem was not with the techniques as such; it was the demand of the

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[72]Baden-Powell considered 'fine-art', "the offspring of mind--- of the mind in its preconception of beauty, grandeur, power, harmony, and response, in Nature; and in its sympathies and emotions resulting from the contact with others, in Society", and this sense was lacking among the Punjabi painters. Baden-Powell, *Hand-book of the Manufactures and Arts*, Vol. II, p. 341. Similarly, Richard Temple contended that hardly any painting in India represented a true perspective, and with the passage of time, the deterioration of the Indian paintings had increased. "Memorandum by the Honourable Sir Richard Temple, on the subject of Exhibitions and Schools of Art and Design in India", dated 24 October 1873, in Choonara (ed.), "*Official" Chronicle*, p. 143.

[73]Baden-Powell, *Hand-book of the Manufactures and Arts*, Vol. II, p. 342.

[74]Ibid., pp. 351, 355.

[75]Baden Powell viewed Pandit Ram's paintings as "figure work ordinary and not at all good mythological subjects". For another juror, Tribe, the colour scheming was crude, and Kipling observed the same for most of the Hindu paintings. "Reports of the Juries, Punjab Exhibition 1881-82" in *Report on the Punjab Exhibition (1881-82)*, p. 88. In the CIE in 1883-84, Kipling found Punjabi paintings on Hindu mythologies interesting, and on Sufi shrines and mosques as curious, rich in colours.

[76]Themes of such paintings were landscape, shrines, tombs, palaces and portraits.

[77]Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922: Occidental Orientations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 205.

themes to use different colours and stylistic treatment. In other words, the criticism of the organizers should be understood not only as an expression of superiority but also as a sign of struggle to grasp an altogether different pictorial tradition.

The exhibition reports mention disagreements among the jurors suggesting how their nationalities, professions and experiences defined their judgements. In the FPE, the locals were less represented in the juries. Due to the long process of compilation (four to five years) the post-exhibition report might have also eliminated the discordant voices. However, at a few places, Baden-Powell mentions disagreements among the local informants and the organizers. For instance, conceiving the origin of the art of koft-work, an informant from Multan interpreted it in a mystical term by relating its origin to a person mentioned in the *Quran*, Hakeem Lucqman, which Baden-Powell dismissed as "probably non-sense".[78] I mentioned earlier that the local artisans associated their craft with the prophets, Sufis and mystics. But such beliefs had no acceptance among the British administrators. The European jurors also contested each other's judgement in the same exhibition. For instance, the jurors found the display of ivory-work as not representative of best "specimen", but Powell disputed this view and argued that those exhibits were the best available examples and explained their quality as reflecting an overall decline in Indian art.[79]

The reports for the SPE mention disputes and dissent among the jurors because of including more locals in the exhibition committees.[80] Mrs. Kipling reports a "little dispute" among the jurors as "to what are and are not the primitive Phulkari colours". She had to assert herself by

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[78]Baden-Powell, *Hand-book of the Manufactures and Arts*, Vol. II, p. 169.
[79]Ibid., p. 216.
[80]For instance, nine jurors were appointed to judge cotton textiles, out of whom six were English and three were Indians while the reporter was also British. See *Report on the Punjab Exhibition, 1881-82*, p. 10. To review the exhibits of woollen textiles, six people were appointed out of which four were English while two were Indians.

suggesting "a hard-and-fast rule" for using six colours in embroidery which could define a work as modern.[81] Similarly, when evaluating the jewellery and seal engraving, the local and the English jurors disputed the results. The locals supported to award prizes to the exhibits from Delhi and Multan, while the English appreciated the works which came from villages.[82] Also in the class of leather-work, the locals admired saddlery which the English did not find noticeable.[83] These examples show that the local collaborators contested the judgements of the British jurors about the local crafts. That is the reason, when the local and the British jurors agreed on a point, sometimes it surprised the administrators, who noted it excitedly in the exhibition reports.[84]

In the juries' reports, the expressions of surprise, curiosity and interest are noticeable but cannot be necessarily linked to ideological or economic interests. In fact, such expressions suggest a continuous struggle of the organizers to understand the local culture. Because of this reason, they often showed reluctance to comment on the exhibits. Theoretical knowledge of art, which the British claimed to possess, could not help them in grasping every piece of art and craft. In other words, these expressions of surprise, curiosity and interests draw a line between colonial knowledge and the local cultural domain, defining a space where the colonial state was not able to pursue its Utilitarian interests. I will provide a few instances to explain this point.

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[81]"Reports of the Juries, Punjab Exhibition 1881-82" in *Report on the Punjab Exhibition (1881-82)*, p. 66.
[82]J.L. Kipling, "Jewellery, Silversmith's Work, and Seal-Engraving", in Ibid., pp. 71-2.
[83]"Reports of the Juries, Punjab Exhibition 1881-82" in Ibid., p. 68. Indian members of the committee were Diwan Das Mal and Nawab Nawazish Ali Khan, while the European members were Watts and E.W. Parker.
[84]In his report on wood-work, Baden-Powell writes: "The jury have been singularly unanimous in their approval of the articles…This fact shows how good work impresses different persons, whose individual tastes may nevertheless differ very considerably". "Reports of the Juries, Punjab Exhibition 1881-82, Wood-Work" in Ibid., p. 78.

In the FPE, the British administrators saw many exhibits for the first time, such as different varieties of cotton cloths, ivory-work, wood-work, metal-work, various styles of paintings, etc. The jury of ivory-carving, while showing its inability to appreciate the local arts, wrote:

> Our ideas of ivory work, as well as of almost all the beautiful arts practised by the natives of this country, are formed from the travelling pedlars who bring round their wares for sale. We have little information regarding the process of the manufacture, the number of artificers engaged in it, or where they are to be found. [85]

In the SPE, Kipling explains this reluctance of the European jurors to comment on every exhibit due to limited knowledge of the local tradition. He writes with reference to the jury's report on the paintings: "Europeans are perhaps scarcely the best judges of representations of Hindu mythology, for the purely abstract and conventional treatment of strange and fantastic subjects allows no hint of nature, while fancy and imagination are rigidly bound by tradition".[86] But this sense of not knowing about the locals was not limited to the paintings; the jurors also discovered new samples of raw silk from Gurdaspur, and "unusual" examples of wood-carving from Chiniot.[87] The jurors also expressed a similar opinion in the CIE.[88] Such cases show that at some level, the traditional craft practices continued unaltered and posed a kind of resistance to the colonial observers who could not completely incorporate such display in their own theoretical knowledge or world-view.

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[85]Baden-Powell, *Hand-book of the Manufactures and Arts,* Vol. II, p. 216.
[86]"Reports of the Juries, Punjab Exhibition 1881-82" in *Report on the Punjab Exhibition (1881-82),* p. 26.
[87] Ibid., p. 23.
[88]In the CIE, the jurors admitted their limited knowledge. Kipling found a few pieces of embroidery from Chamba state (of Punjab) as "curios" showing the local legends. The jury recommended a prize for this "interesting work", but they could not understand what it was. About the display of *martabans* (jars), Kipling noted that these were "unknown in England till 1871, when the writer [Kipling] took a quantity of jars to the exhibition" in England. Kipling, "Report of Punjab Court, Calcutta International Exhibition 1883", pp. 113, 117.

4.1.5. Non-Participation of Artisans

While discussing the problems in organizing the exhibitions, J.L. Kipling mentions "apathy of the people, who are naturally slow to apprehend the drift and intention of a project which, though familiar enough to Europeans, is still a novelty in the Punjab".[89] Kipling was right in his assertion; the locals called colonial exhibitions *numaish*, a term which means "show-off" and "curious", and reflects their indifference towards these projects.[90] This indifference was due to the local culture and suspicion about the colonial state. I will illustrate this point by highlighting three aspects: the Sufi *mela;* a localized version of solo display; the suspicion among the local artisans.

In the second chapter, I discussed the reception of shrines by various communities, and how the Sufi *mela* attracted a large following to the shrines. Here, I propose that the Sufi *mela* were a local version of exhibitions, operated differently from the colonial exhibitions but provided more economic opportunities to the artisans. The objectives of the colonial exhibitions were to educate artisans about the rational principles of art and to promote trade. However, the Sufi *mela* attracted the artisans for invoking *baraka*, which re-enforced the Sufi *nomos;* making, selling and purchasing the specially designed products were all motivated by a belief in *baraka*, which protected the economic interests of the artisans, cured their ailments and brought them closer to the Sufi communities.[91] In nineteenth-century Punjab, there was

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[89]*Report on the Punjab Exhibition, 1881-82*, p. 14.

[90] Platt's dictionary explains the meanings of *numaish* as "appearance, face, form, figure, vision, sight, semblance, a show of, display, affection, spectacle, pomp, threat, menace, a show of criminal force, an exhibition-museum". John T. Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English*, Vol.2 (London: W.H. Allen, 1884), p. 1153.

[91]Apart from *mela*, if a child was born to an artisan family, the whole community also used to visit shrines to celebrate the occasion. In nineteenth-century Lahore, weavers, dyers, and goldsmiths followed this tradition. Nur Ahmad Chishti, *yaadgar-e-chisti*, *Lahore ki zatain ur on ki rasumaat* (Lahore, Bookhome, 2004 [1859]), pp. 90, 92, 96-7. Compare it with leisure and festive activities of

hardly any city or town where such *mela* was not held. I will give two examples to show the participation of artisans.

In district D.G. Khan, where a large number of Taunsvi's followers were located, the colonial officials recorded ten such Sufi fairs (each spanning from one to three days).[92] Such a large number of local festivals and association with the anti-colonial Sufi community could be one of the many reasons that a very few artisans participated in the exhibitions from this district.[93] Artisans practicing pottery, basket-work, lacquered ware, cotton-weaving, embroidery, metal-work, enamel, shoe-making had their stalls on the occasions, who must have had a profitable selling as thousands of visitors from all over the subcontinent and neighbouring region of Afghanistan attended these festivals. The colonial officials also marketed the British textile products during the festivals.[94]

In nineteenth-century Lahore, more than a dozen Sufi *mela* were organized annually.[95] One such *mela, chiragon ka mela*, was held at the shrine of Madhu Lal Hussain. Nineteenth-century sources suggest that thousands of people visited the shrine and participated in the

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artisans in Banaras, Nita Kumar, *The Artisans of Banaras: Popular Culture and Identity, 1880-1980* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

[92] These Sufi fairs included Sakhi Sarwar fair (6-11 April), *Urs* of Suleman Taunsvi (23 March, for two days), *urs* of Pir Adil (16 March), Dhand Lalgir fair (12 March), Hajipur fair (12 June), Taran Imam fair (16, 23 and 30 March, 6 April), Mithankot fair (21 Aug, 20 Oct, 31 Jan, 10 March). F.W.R. Fryer, *Final Report on the First Regular Settlement of the Dera Ghazi Khan District, in the Derajat Division, 1869-1874 AD* (Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1876), p. 52.

[93]For instance, in the SPE, the contributions from this district were wool-weaving specimens and camel bags. *Report on the Punjab Exhibition, 1881-82*, p. 24. In the CIE, the British officials could collect a few specimen of wool-weaving and lacquered wood from a few artisan families. Kipling, "Report of Punjab Court, Calcutta International Exhibition 1883", pp. 121, 126. No artisan from Taunsa Sharif contributed, where the shrine of Taunsvi was located.

[94] In 1872, the British officers sold the imported articles worth of Rs. 18000. To attract the local elite, Captain Sandeman, deputy commissioner, distributed prizes of 829 Rs. among the participants of horse-race. The amount was increased to Rs 1000 for the next fair (1873). Fryer, *Final Report on the First Regular Settlement of the Dera Ghazi Khan District,* p. 50. The colonial state was interested in opening the trade route of this district to access Afghanistan, Iran, Sind, Balochistan.

[95]These *mela* were held at the shrines of Shah Abul Muali, Hazrat Pak, Mian Mir, Mouj Derya Bukhari, Shah Charagh, Sadar Diwan, Pir Mulki, Madho Lal Hussain, Ali Hajweri.

mela. In the city, most of the shopkeepers and artisans closed their shops and set up their stalls at the site.[96] Weavers weaved special cloths (normally of silk or cotton), in red and green colours. *Naqash* (painters) decorated horse-carts and made portraits of the Punjabi Sufis. We can conjecture that for the occasion, the painters used floral patterns and images of the Sufis for decorating horse-carts and walls. Similarly, potters set up their stalls selling utensils and specially designed decoration pieces with religious inscriptions, and also toys (see illustrations, 62(a,b,c,d)-63). The jewellers came with the less expensive items. Similarly, the carpet-weavers displayed prayer-carpets, wall-hangings with inscriptions, images of the Sufis, shrines, and mosques. The colonial reports give details about another *mela, basant ka mela*, at the same shrine which was attended by thirty to forty thousand people annually in the 1860s.[97] Like in D.G. Khan district, the colonial state introduced a "Horse and Cattle Show" during the event to sell the British imports and probably made considerable profits.[98]

For the local artisans, the display in the Sufi *mela* was more profitable than the colonial exhibitions. The colonial state's attempts to pursue its economic interests in the Sufi *mela* suggest that such events were prospective markets. Unlike the exhibitions, the custodians of shrines were not involved in the selection and classification of the craft stalls; the artisans enjoyed complete autonomy in displaying their products, they knew what was marketable and reasonably priced. They did not display highly decorative and expensive works that common people could not afford. However, in the exhibitions highly decorative and expensive items were displayed despite the intention of the organizers to showcase cheap and saleable articles.

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[96]Chishti, *yaadgar-e-chisti,* p. 183. Also see John Campbell Oman, *Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908), pp. 209-14.
[97]Leslie S. Saunders, *Report on the Revised Land Revenue Settlement of the Lahore District, in the Lahore Division of the Punjab, 1865-69* (Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1873), p. 63.
[98]Ibid.

Unlike the exhibitions, to which only few artisans from each district sent their exhibits, in the Sufi *mela* each artisan family of a village or district could set up their own stall, which provided them more opportunity to make profits and show their skills.

In the Sufi *mela*, rarely any carpenter or *kashiger* (tile-maker) participated with highly decorative articles. In nineteenth-century Punjabi villages, they individually exhibited their work. Had they been given any assignment by a local *nawab*, they displayed it in front of the house for which they had made that article. The villagers not only praised the artisans' work but also gave them money as a token of appreciation. Artisans could easily collect Rs 100 in this solo exhibition.[99] It was in addition to what they received from their customers. This kind of display increased clientele and admirers for the artisans, while it also increased the "prestige" of their customer or patron.

When the local elites helped the colonial state to collect crafts for the exhibitions, several artisans responded in the same way; they made special objects, which they rarely produced under normal circumstances. These artisans expected a large sum of money in advance for executing such commissions. Several officials paid them and the subsequent article was a highly decorative piece which the exhibition committees however did not wish to display because their interest was in the "cheap" but artistically good crafts which could be exported to Europe.[100] Apart from demanding a hefty amount in advance for making such articles, the

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[99]"Reports of the Juries, Punjab Exhibition 1881-82" in *Report on the Punjab Exhibition (1881-82)*, p. 46.

[100]Kipling resented this situation and wrote: "[In the SPE in which many selected and] prized objects are not made in the regular course of production at all, but are *tours de force* which the workman cannot afford to repeat". Ibid. Kipling's observation can be related to Tirthankar Roy's study which suggests that Indian artisans could only innovate when protected by a social or political leader. Otherwise, it was difficult for them to produce a different and innovative craft that could threaten the market of their fellow artisans. Tirthankar Roy, "Out of Tradition: Master Artisans and Economic Change in Colonial India", *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 66 (4), (November 2007), pp. 963-91.

local artisans also expected the permission to conduct a solo-display, which was not acceptable to the European exporters and the exhibition committees.[101] As a result, several artisans avoided contribution to the exhibitions and continued to serve the local elites only.

Several nineteenth-century Punjabi folktales suggest an image of colonial officials as kidnapers, exploiters, murderers and tax collectors.[102] This sense of suspicion can be seen in the artisans' responses to the colonial exhibitions. As mentioned earlier, the Punjabi weavers and shoe-makers suffered due to the colonial trade; the involvement of revenue officers in the collecting further increased the artisans' suspicion of the state.

The local artisans believed that the involvement of the revenue officers in collecting the exhibits was a surveying technique to explore the possibility of imposing more taxes on them. At the village and town levels, the state assigned the *tahsildars* to collect the exhibits in collaboration with the village elites, who helped, in one way or the other, in establishing the political control of the British.[103] The colonial revenue system was vigorous and the artisans because of their experiences with such administrative structure, were reluctant to contribute artefact to the exhibitions.

The organizers demanded the artisans to submit their tools, techniques of making an article, raw material used, along with the article for display in the exhibitions. The curators displayed

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However this point needs further research to determine whether Punjabi artisans were threatened by their community because of innovation or not.

[101]For Kipling, a "Utilitarian trader finds [these norms] irritating and impractical". "Reports of the Juries, Punjab Exhibition 1881-82" in *Report on the Punjab Exhibition (1881-82),* p. 46.

[102]John Campbell Oman, *Indian Life, Religious and Social* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1889), pp. 168-82.

[103]*Tahsildars* had considerable police powers, and worked under the district management. Village elders were also responsible for maintaining peace in their own locality. *General Report upon the Administration of the Punjab Proper, for the years 1849-50 & 1850-51, being the two first years after annexation with a supplementary notice of the Cis and Trans-Sutlej Territories* (Lahore: Chronicle Press, 1854), pp.50, 52.

these tools, raw material and published the techniques in the exhibition catalogues. The artisans suspected that such demand was a means of disclosing their business secrets to the European traders and manufacturers. Perhaps, this suspicion had some foundations given that the British manufacturers used Indian techniques for producing various articles on a large scale. Previously, I mentioned the example of the Kashmiri shawls, which the French and the British manufacturers tried to imitate in Europe. Similarly, B.D. Newbury and others show that the brass-making technologies developed in England in the nineteenth century were already practiced in Lahore since the seventeenth century.[104] The exhibition reports also suggest that the European manufacturers and traders took a keen interest in the local techniques of practicing various crafts.

These reasons were redoubled by the negative experiences of several artisans who participated in the FPE: the agreed payment was either delayed or not given to them; in some cases their artefacts on loan were damaged or lost. The experiences resulted in varied responses: the Punjabi artisans refused to contribute or contributed articles which were of no use for the exhibition; demanded very high prices and advance payments, which the organizers could not afford; and delayed their contributions. Such responses altered the objectives of the exhibitions.

4.2. The Lahore Museum

Scholars approach nineteenth-century colonial and metropolitan museums from different perspectives but two main views dominate academic analysis: in the first, the museums are presented as hegemonic in their objectives, working and reception; in the second, the

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[104]B.D. Newbury, M.R. Notis, B.Stephenson, G.S. Cargill III & G.B. Stephenson, "The Astrolabe Craftsmen of Lahore and Early Brass Metallurgy", *Annals of Science*, Vol. 63 (2), (2006), pp. 201-13.

reception of the hegemonic objectives and operations of the museums is understood to have been uneven, as in most cases the visitors contested the hegemonic agenda. The works of Tony Bennett,[105] Didier Maleuvre[106] and Eilean Hooper-Greenhill[107] can be placed in the first category. They consider museums as rational spaces where the curators classified the objects by using different taxonomies to disseminate the dominating imperial perspectives among the visitors. Specific classification on the basis of "the evolutionary principles" was intended to prove the position of Europeans at the top of the human civilization. The colonial states took over the patronage of art from the local aristocracy, nobility, religious and social classes by setting up museums and attempted to establish their own hegemony over art and culture. Such scholarship relies mainly on Foucauldian premises to explain the function of colonial museums as a discursive institutional practice which defines each exhibit within the power/knowledge relationship.

Other scholars, such as Guha-Thakurta and John M. Mackenzie, highlight the uneven reception of the colonial museums. In the case of the Calcutta Museum, Guha-Thakurta identifies a relation between the development of the museum and the discipline of archaeology which shows "an elaborate axis of colonial power and knowledge",[108] but the museum public never employed archaeology to understand the exhibits. Similarly, Stanley K. Abe argues in the case of nineteenth-century Lahore museum, the concept of Greco-Buddhist art was largely determined by the idea of the superiority of Greek civilization, but the

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[105]Tony Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonization* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 2.
[106]Maleuvre, *Museum Memories*, p. 10.
[107]Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 167-90.
[108]Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), pp. 43-82.

colonial scholars generated such discourse by eliminating the local voices.[109] Unlike Guha-Thakurta and Abe, Mackenzie sees discordant voices in the working of the colonial museums. He suggests that the museums "stimulated fresh forms of respect, … parallel to the hegemonic representations, there were cultural dialogue, appreciation of spirituality, aesthetics and people's efforts".[110]

Following Guha-Thakurta and Abe, I propose that the objectives of the Lahore museum were hegemonic and the curators used dominating perspectives to explain the exhibits within colonial knowledge. However, my point differs regarding the working of the colonial museums. Like Mackenzie, I propose that the Lahore museum did not operate in a hegemonic way; in fact, it had some serious administrative limitations which almost neutralized its hegemonic objectives. Like the colonial art instruction and exhibitions, the Lahore museum also failed to engage the local population including artisans. As Guha-Thakurta shows in the case of the Calcutta museum, I propose that the visitors in the Lahore museum also contested the colonial objectives; ignoring the museum's educational objectives, the locals treated it instead as a place for entertainment and recreation.

I divide my discussion in five parts: the first part explains that the architecture of the three buildings for the museum did not represent an ideological statement; the second part examines the museum's hegemonic but contradictory objectives; the third part is about the struggle of the curators to classify the diverse collection; the fourth part explains the

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[109]Stanley K. Abe, "Inside the Wonder House: Buddhist Art and the West" in Donald S. Lopez (ed.), *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 63-106.

[110]John M. Mackenzie, *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 4-5.

perspectives of colonial curators, who selectively commented on the exhibits by using religious categories; the fifth part discuses the responses of the museum public.

4.2.1. Buildings of the Museum

Michaela Giebelhausen argues that the architecture of nineteenth-century European museums was monumental so "to make a symbolic statement, at once civic and educational".[111] In the case of the Lahore museum, the colonial state belatedly decided to build a monumental structure, which however proved to be a failed endeavour. From the 1850s until the early 1890s, two temporary buildings housed the collection of the museum. The architecture of the third building was intended to be "symbolic" and its artisan-builders considered it a monument and a reference manual for the local builders (illustrations, 52, 58, 59). But unlike Sufi shrines, which were received as the patrons and the builders intended, the locals did not perceive the museum as a monument and they practiced architecture quite contrary to that style.

Initially, the Lahore museum was supposed to function as a sample room for the traders. In 1855, the finance commissioner of Punjab, F.D. McLeod, proposed to establish museums in each district to showcase "specimens of natural products of the province of the Punjab with a view to tracing the development of the resources of the country and improvements in agriculture, machinery and the arts".[112] The building selected for this "central museum" was a seventeenth-century Mughal structure, Wazir Khan's *baradari* (or summer house). Wazir Khan, the governor of Lahore in the reign of Shahjahan who constructed this building, was a

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[111]Michaela Giebelhausen, "Museum Architecture: A Brief History" in Sharon Macdonald (ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p. 231.

[112]From F.D. McLeod, Financial Commissioner Punjab, to the Sec. to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, letter dated 14 March 1855, in *Press List of Records in the General Department* (Lahore: Government of the Punjab), p. 280.

staunch supporter of Sufi ideas, as reflected in his other architectural undertakings such as the Wazir Khan mosque in Lahore. The building was a typical instance of Shahjahani architecture. The selection of this building was not based on its historical importance; rather, it was the only available building for this purpose. The British troops first used it in the 1850s, then, the British Telegram Department operated in this building for some time before handing it over to the government for establishing a museum.[113] The supervisory committee of the museum used two unsuitable small octagonal rooms for the display. Due to the administrative constraints such as the lack of funds and the unavailability of a more spacious structure, the building continued to function as a museum for almost a decade.

In 1864, a temporary building, constructed for the FPE, was declared as the Central Museum Lahore and the objects for the exhibition were included in the museum's collection. This building was not supposed to function as a museum but due to lack of funds, it did so for the next twenty-six years.[114] This building was constructed in the English Belgian style, which, as I discussed elsewhere in this chapter, was a style adopted for convenience rather than to express any ideology.

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[113]Nur Ahmad Chishti, *tahkeekaty chishti* (Lahore: Al-Faisal Publishers, 2006 [1867]), pp. 704-7.

[114]Kipling reports a few serious problems in the building: "The defects of the building are painfully evident in the rains and during the hot weather. The roof leaks, as the Executive Engineer believes, incurably, and a certain amount of damage was done to the collections by the wet and also by the necessity for hastily removing them from under the more dangerous cascades. It is so thin, too, that the interior is like an oven in hot weather, the putty drops from the glass-cases in large tears on the objects beneath, painted things blister, and articles made of wood and ivory are liable to crack and split". J.L. Kipling, Curator, Lahore Central Museum, to Officiating Sec. to Government, Punjab, Letter no. 71, dated 16 June 1876, "Report of the Lahore Central Museum for 1875-76" in the *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce*, no. 9 (June, 1876), p. 1. The government responded to this complain as: "The defects of the museum building are only too well known to the government, and no amount of repair would seem to be of much advantage". From Lepel Griffin, Officiating Sec. to Government, Punjab, to the Curator, Lahore Central Museum, Letter no. 797, dated 30 June 1876, Lahore, in Ibid., p. 4.

In 1887, through public subscription, the government planned a purposeful structure for the museum in connection with the celebration of Queen Victoria's jubilee. Prince Albert inaugurated the construction in 1890, and the collection was shifted to the new building in 1894 soon after its completion. This building followed the Indo-Saracenic style and was intended to represent the Indian architectural tradition as imagined by the colonial administrators. In the previous chapter, I have explained that this eclectic architecture received severe criticism from the colonial officials and the local communities. In other words, the choice of building for the Lahore museum was either based on convenience or the audience did not understand the architecture in symbolic terms when the state desired to represent "the Indian architectural tradition".

4.2.2. Objectives & Collection of the Exhibits

In Kipling's words, the Lahore museum intended to "display the artistic, industrial, and economic resources of the province".[115] The objectives of setting up the Lahore museum were multiple: to introduce science among the locals, to promote trade by displaying raw products and domestic crafts, to highlight the lost heritage of the region, to show the craft students good samples of European and local designs so they could avoid "crude" imitations of foreign imports and appreciate their own tradition. These objectives were contradictory: on the one hand, the colonial administrators planned to operate the museum like a showroom for the traders by displaying the contemporary crafts; and on the other, the same collection was also supposed to represent the decadence of local crafts. Similarly, the museum was intended

[115]From J.L. Kipling, Curator, Lahore Central Museum to the Officiating Sec. to Government, Punjab, Letter no. 55, dated 23 March 1877, Lahore, "Report of the Lahore Central Museum for 1876-77" in the *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce*, no. 7 (June 1877), p. 2.

to highlight the local craft tradition but it also displayed European designs, modern machinery, tools, etc.

Contradictory objectives distracted the curators, most of whom were military or civil bureaucrats and usually had a very short tenure. They collected anything they found "interesting". They had no well-defined policy for purchasing or accepting the articles, and enjoyed complete autonomy in selling the exhibits which they believed were of no use, although they were bound to inform the Lt.-governor in advance. The interest, curiosity and autonomy of the individual curators, rather than any ideology or policy, defined the process of collection for the museum.

Various colonial institutions such as MSA,[116] ASI, the district museums,[117] the local municipal committees,[118] and the British civil and military bureaucracy[119] contributed exhibits for the museum. Apart from them, the British biologists and zoologists donated specimens for the natural history section. The officers working with "modern technology" sent various models.[120] Items from various historical sites were also transferred to the

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[116] The students of the MSA prepared models of various sculptures discovered by the ASI. Ibid. The students also donated drawings and casts. From D. Garrick, Officiating Curator, Central Museum Lahore to the Officiating Sec. to government, Punjab, Letter no. 68, dated 29 May 1878, Lahore, in the *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce*, no. 2 (July 1878), p. 1.

[117] In 1872-73, A.F. Cunningham (Officiating Curator, Lahore Museum), requested the government to transfer all the collection of the Amritsar museum which was established in the early 1850s. From T.H. Thornton, Sec to Gov., Punjab to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Amritsar Division, Letter no. 840, dated 4 June 1873, in the *Proceedings of the Department of Agriculture, Revenue and Commerce*, (June 1873), p. 4.

[118] In 1875, when the Lahore municipal committee erased Kharak Singh's haveli, the museum secured the panels of diaper work and carved doors. J.L. Kipling, Curator, Lahore Central Museum, to Officiating Sec. to Government, Punjab, Letter no. 71, dated 16 June 1876, "Report of the Lahore Central Museum for 1875-76" in the *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce*, no. 9 (June, 1876), p. 2.

[119] In 1875, Maj. Waterfield, deputy commissioner in Hazara, sent sculptures, copper and bronze vessels.

[120] In 1875, Roscoe Bocquet, agent of the Sindh, Punjab and Delhi Railway, donated a model of a stationary engine which was prepared in a railway factory. Rai Kanehia Lal, executive engineer in the

museum.[121] The nawabs and the maharajas contributed to the museum.[122] The European traders and locals who wanted to sell their antique or contemporary collections also contacted the curators.[123] The diverse collection made it difficult for the curators to delimit the scope of the museum and to classify the objects.

4.2.3. Classification of the Objects

As the collection in the Lahore museum grew, the curators faced serious problems in identifying and classifying the exhibits. Initially they followed the classifications in the Great Exhibition of 1851, but later on they changed this classification when the Gandhara sculptures, paintings and industrial arts were added to the collection. This aspect shows that the hegemonic intention of educating the locals through the display faced serious challenges while executing the project, for the pre-conceived European notions of classification could not be applied.

PWD, made a soapstone model of the Taj Mahal for the museum. Kipling, "Report of the Lahore Central Museum for 1875-76", p. 2. The Irrigation branch of the PWD, donated various tools and machines manufactured in the department's workshops. Kipling, "Report of the Lahore Central Museum for 1876-77", p. 2. Surgeon-Major, G.C. Ross, a civil surgeon in Karnal, donated a "tumor removed from the nad of a boy with its medical history". D. Garrick, Officiating Curator, Central Museum, Lahore to the Secretary to government, Punjab, letter no. 56, dated 30 May 1879, Lahore, "Report on the Lahore Central Museum for 1878-79" in the *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce*, no. 7 (June 1879), p. 2.

[121]In 1881-82, the government of Punjab donated two painted doors to the museum which were taken from the *hammam* of the Shalimar gardens of Mughal period. From J.L. Kipling, Curator, Central Museum Lahore to the Sec. to government of Punjab, letter dated 15 August 1882, "Report on the Working of the Lahore Museum for the year 1881-82", p. 2.

[122] The Nawab of Bahawalpur donated different exhibits such as unglazed pottery. The Maharaja of Kashmir gifted raw products and other specimen. From D. Garrick, Officiating Curator, Central Museum Lahore to the Officiating Sec. to government, Punjab, Letter no. 68, dated 29 May 1878, Lahore, in the *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce,* no. 2 (July 1878), p. 1.

[123] For instance, the Central Asian Trading Company donated carpets, silk fabrics and other imported items to the museum. Kipling, "Report of the Lahore Central Museum for 1876-77", p. 2.

In the late 1850s and the early 1860s, when the museum was located in the Wazir Khan's *baradari*, it focussed on natural history, similar to the India museum of the EIC in London.[124] T.H. Thornton, a civil servant and the first curator of the Lahore museum, classified the collection into geological and ethnographic sections; the specimens were displayed in eight cases in two octagonal rooms of the building. On one side, he displayed the casts of aborigines and Hindus to show the "primitive" races in the region; on the other, he exhibited the casts of Tibetans, Turks, Pathans and other ethnicities to represent medieval races. This classification was similar to that followed by the British historians, such as James Mill, Elliot and Dowson, who divided the Indian history in three phases: the first phase was ancient, dominated by the Hindu tribes; the second phase was medieval, in which Muslims (Turks and Pathans) ruled India; and the third was modern, starting with the arrival of the British.[125]

Thornton's classification completely changed when the Punjab Exhibition building was made into the museum in 1864, and all the exhibits already there were added to the permanent collection. The scope of the FPE was not well defined so a diverse collection became part of the museum's display. The classification of the exhibition was retained for the museum as well. This included the categories of antiquities, raw products, natural history, industrial arts or manufactured products, fine arts, ethnographic specimens, machines and local tools (for agriculture, etc.), coins, arms, etc.

From 1865, a number of part-time curators began to show anxiety because of problems with classifying such a diverse collection. For one curator, it was an "impossible" task to label

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[124]Established in 1801, the India Museum had some historical artifacts but largely it focused on the natural history. J. Forbes Watson, *On the Measures Required for the Efficient Working of the India Museum and Library, with suggestions for the foundation, in connection with them, of an Indian Institute for Enquiry, Lecture, and Teaching* (London: George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1874).

[125]James Mill, *The History of British India,* 3 Vols. (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1817).

each exhibit.[126] The curators left most of the exhibits unlabelled, and could not publish any catalogue, although there were partial efforts to print a document that could provide details about the exhibits.[127] They engaged experts in India and England for the classification and also took help from the local employees in the museum, [128] yet this strategy could not resolve the problem of classification.

From 1875 till 1895, the years under Kipling's directorate, a variety of objects was added to the collection. Kipling's focus in classification was to represent the existing state of industrial art and display half-forgotten crafts. He tried to refine the existing categories; for instance, in the 1870s, the Fine Art section included paintings, carved wood and ivory pieces,[129] Kipling reduced it to paintings only. But the problems still existed in accurately identifying the paintings. The curators could not recognize the Mughal miniature paintings, which were probably tagged as Chinese paintings.[130] In 1875-76, Kipling allocated a separate gallery for the Buddhist sculptures;[131] later on, he included different specimens of wood, stuffed birds and fish.[132] Kipling classified the exhibits in three broad categories: The first category had

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[126] From A.R. Becher, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore to Sec. to Government, Punjab, no.14, dated 13 April 1875, Lahore, "Report on the Lahore Museum for 1874-75", p. 1.

[127] From A.F. Cunningham (Officiating Curator, Lahore Museum) to the Sec. to Government, Punjab, "Report on the Lahore Museum for 1872-73", dated 7 May 1873, in the *Proceedings of the Department of Agriculture, Revenue and Commerce,* No. 4. (June 1873), p. 1. The museum published a small catalogue of ancient sculpture describing fifty specimen. It was written by Cunningham.

[128]For labelling the sculptures and coins, Gen. Cunningham helped the museum management. Ibid., p.1. In 1873-74, Baden-Powell took away the collection of butterflies and moths to get it labeled from any expert in England. see Capt. I.P. Westmorland (Curator, Lahore Central Museum) to the Sec. to Government, Punjab, no. 1, dated 11 May, 1874, "Report on the Working of the Lahore Central Museum (1873-74)", in the *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce,* No. 8, (May 1874), p. 1. From 1875 onwards, Kipling labelled each item in English as well as in Urdu. The local employee of the museum, such as Darogha Gholam Muhammad, and Babu, Lala Dhanpat Rai, also helped in this process of identification.

[129]Kipling, "Report of the Lahore Central Museum for 1876-77", p. 2.

[130]Percy Brown, *Indian Painting* (Calcutta: The Association Press, 1927, second edition), p. 5.

[131]Kipling, "Report of the Lahore Central Museum for 1875-76", p. 1.

[132]Specimens of wood were donated by Baden-Powell, who was by then serving in the Forest Department. He also classified these woods scientifically and geographically and according to the

raw products, minerals, vegetables and animals; the second category comprised the ancient artefacts, the arts and manufactures; the third division contained a small collection of the "ethnographic heads" of various communities in India. Percy Brown changed Kipling's classification when he took over the direction of the museum in 1899. In 1906-7, the museum had four departments: the Industrial Arts, Fine Arts, Archaeology and Antiques, and Coins.[133]

My contention is that the scope of the museum could not be defined due to the diverse collection and the continuous struggle of different curators to classify the exhibits. The classification was not properly defined so it could not communicate any consistent perspective to the viewer. When Purdon Clarke, the in-charge of the India section at SKM, visited the Lahore museum in 1884, he dismissed it as a "sample room"[134] where one could find many interesting things but not neatly classified as in the case of museums in Europe. The Lahore museum was not different from the colonial exhibitions where showcases were flooded with exhibits, but the curators could not identify and classify them all. This situation improved to some degree when the collection was shifted to a new building in 1894.

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usage (such as ordinary use, rare kinds, used as fuel). From J.L. Kipling, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore, to the Secretary to government, Punjab, letter no. 160, dated 8 June 1880, Lahore, "Report on the Lahore Central Museum for 1879-80" in the *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce,* no. 15 (June 1880), p. 2.

[133](1) the Industrial Arts, subdivided in hardware manufactures and textiles; (2) the Fine Arts, included (a) pictures, photographs and engraving, (b) sculpture and statuary; (3) the Archaeology and Antiques department had four classes, (a) Sculpture (Graeco-Buddhist, Brahmanical, Jain, Muhammadan), (b) Inscriptions, (c) Prehistoric Implements, (d) Miscellaneous including jewellery, seals, etc.; (4) The Coins had three sections, (a) ancient coins, (b) Muhammadan, (c) Miscellaneous. In the miscellaneous head, Brown displayed all those exhibits which the administrators could not identify. *Report of the Conference as regards Museums in India, held at Calcutta on Dec. 27 to 31, 1907* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1908), p. 19. For the description of the exhibits, see Percy Brown, *Lahore Museum Punjab: A Descriptive Guide to the Department of Archaeology and Antiquities* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1908); Percy Brown, *Lahore Museum Punjab: A Descriptive Guide to the Industrial Arts* (Calcutta: Thacker Spink & Co., 1909).

[134]From J.L. Kipling, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore to the Sec. to government, Punjab, letter no.141, dated 15 June 1881, "Report on the Lahore Central Museum for 1880-1881", in the *Proceedings of the Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce Department,* no. 8, (June, 1881), p. 2.

4.2.4. Curatorial Perspectives

In the second half of the nineteenth century, at least ten curators served in the Lahore museum – a turnover that halted the development of the institution as envisioned by the colonial state.[135] Unlike the exhibition reports, the reports of the Lahore museum rarely mention discordant voices because individual curators drafted these documents. The reports, in fact, did not comment on the historical value or style of any exhibit. They only provided administrative details such as the number of visitors, additions to the collection, administrative problems, financial statement, etc. However, these reports along with a few other documents such as catalogues and tourist guides, provide some clues as to the curators' views about the local crafts and their intention behind the display of exhibits in the museum.

Stanley K. Abe and Guha-Thakurta, in examining the Buddhist sculptures in the Lahore and Calcutta museums respectively, argue that the colonial curators used archaeology as an "interpretive and disciplinary technique" to explain the unknowable as knowable to the West. But "such an appropriation", as Abe suggests, "is only possible through the meticulous control and when necessary, exclusion of the native presence".[136] By relying on Foucault's concept of discursive practices, Abe contends that "the operation of colonial discourse as an apparatus of power turns on the recognition and disavowal of racial/cultural/historical

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[135]Till 1900, the curators who served the Lahore museum were, T.H. Thronton, Baden-Powell (till Dec 1872), Capt. I.P. Westmorland (acted as officiating curator, he was also ex-officio Sec to the local committee international exhibitions), A.F. Cunningham (Assistant Commissioner & Officiating Curator, Lahore Museum), A.R. Becher (1874-75), J.L. Kipling (1875-), D. Garrick, Fred. H. Andrews, Bhai Ram Singh, and Percy Brown. Officiating curators complained that because of the short tenures, they could not manage the administration of the museum. For instance, see Westmorland, "Report on the Working of the Lahore Central Museum (1873-74)", p. 1.

[136]Abe, "Inside the Wonder House", p. 68.

differences", which was reflected in the colonial discourse of Greco-Buddhist art from Gandhara displayed in the Lahore museum.[137]

Following Guha-Thakurta and Abe, I will discuss three nineteenth-century curators of the Lahore museum: T.H. Thornton, J.L. Kipling and Percy Brown. Their perspectives were deeply embedded in the colonial ideas of the decadence of local crafts, religious suppression, Darwinism, and provided justification of the British rule. At the same time, the curators' views also show the contemporary situation of Punjab, where different groups and communities — such as the Sufis, the Arya Samaj movement and the Singh Sabha – defined cultures based on religion. So the curators and the local communities were using religion in different ways to define the local cultures. The curators used the stylistic aspects of art and architecture, while the local communities, apart from some focus on style, stressed mainly the meanings of ancient or medieval symbols.

T.H. Thornton's and J.L. Kipling's representation of the Punjabi artisans and crafts is borrowed from James Fergusson's and Alexander Cunningham's theory of the decadence of Indian art. Both Thornton and Kipling expanded this theory of decadence to the other arts and manufactures exhibited in the museum. When the Gandhara sculptures were added to the collection in the 1870s and the 1880s, Thornton and Kipling argued that the interaction with Europe had been historically beneficial to the Indian artisans. These sculptures showed a strong influence of Greek art, spread to India by Alexander's conquest. With the help of the new rulers, the local artisans refined their skills. Both curators admitted that the British knew very little about the Greeks in India but they still found Cunningham's conjecturers plausible; the Buddhist paintings and sculpture flourished because of the Indo-Greek interaction; the

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[137]Ibid., p. 69.

Buddhist sculptures were delicately carved, showing "real" expression of human life giving a sense of freedom.[138] In the museum, Kipling made a model of Ionic capital which Cunningham restored at *Shah ki dari*, at the site of Taxila.[139] Kipling's intention was to show a beneficial interaction between the Indians and the Europeans in the past. So, if the locals had learnt from the Greeks in ancient times, they could also learn from the British's cultural projects such as art instruction, exhibitions and the museum.

Along with the Buddhist sculptures in the museum, Kipling displayed Hindu sculptures to show the difference between Buddhist and Hindu art. According to Thornton and Kipling, the Brahmin rule suppressed the locals' sense to perceive a real life and ingrained Hindu mythologies in their thoughts. Such confused mythologies led to a "monstrous and unnatural" form of art and sculptures with many heads, hands and legs.[140] Both curators saw the elephant which represented the artist's deep observation and mimetic skills as the only real object in Hindu art. However, they believed that if any Hindu sculpture showed variety or freedom of expression, it was due to the Greek influences. Like the Brahmins, the Muslim rulers also suppressed the locals and stifled the development of "fine arts" or "figurative art". Kipling hoped that under British rule, the Hindus would be able to develop their own art with complete freedom.[141]

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[138] T.H. Thornton and J.L. Kipling, *Lahore as it was, A Travelogue* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2002 [1880s]), p. 78.

[139]From J.L. Kipling, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore to the Junior Secretary to Government, Punjab, Letter no. 117, dated 2 June 1883, Lahore, "Review of Report on the Lahore Central Museum for 1882-83", in the *Proceedings the Department of Revenue and Agriculture*, General, no. 6 (July 1883), p. 2.

[140]Thornton and Kipling, *Lahore as it was,* p. 78; From J.L. Kipling, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore to the Junior Sec. to government, Punjab, Letter no. 25, dated 13 May 1886, Lahore, "Review of the Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the year, 1885-86", in the *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue and Agriculture,* General, no. 1 (June 1886), p. 2.

[141]Kipling, "Review of Report on the Lahore Central Museum for 1882-83", p. 2.

Despite the Greek influences, Thornton and Kipling did not see any reason to compare the local art with the "pure Greek art", because the outside influence did not alter "the fixity and repose of the Eastern mind".[142] The Indo-Greek interaction was a "supreme effort of the Macedonian power" as it "became orientalised" and the locals adopted Greek art and culture, as made visible in the north-western areas of Punjab.[143] This argument that the Greeks had influenced the local art but still this art was not refined enough to be compared with the Greek's also shows Kipling's prejudice about the clumsiness of Punjabi artisans, who were less receptive to the change.[144]

Thornton and Kipling viewed the Indian paintings in the museum as a justification for colonial art education. They stigmatized a series of portraits by a local artist as "grotesque" because of bad colour composition and imprecise drawing of the human face.[145] According to them, a century-old interaction of the Greeks with the locals was not reflected in those paintings, thus it was the responsibility of the British to teach a correct perspective of art. Those paintings were also meant to show the MSA students a few examples of bad artworks because the artist did not know geometry, science and drawing, and hence, could not represent reality.

Keeping in view the primary function of the museum to be a showroom for the traders, Thornton and Kipling identified several "very good examples" of contemporary crafts which could be potential export items. Both believed that the preservation and revival of the local

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[142]Thornton and Kipling, *Lahore as it was*, p.79.
[143]Ibid.
[144]"Naturally, the Punjabi is somewhat clumsy and unhandy when compared with other races". Ibid., p. 49.
[145]Ibid., p.80.

craft rested in the hands of the European traders.[146] Kipling displayed various articles with typical "Oriental designs" which could be profitable exports to Europe.[147] At the same time, the display of the contemporary crafts was intended to show improvement in the local crafts which the British brought about. It was freedom and patronage under the new rulers which gave opportunity to the Punjabi craftsmen to practice their half-forgotten traditions. Thus, if the display of Gandhara sculptures reflected a positive interaction between the Greeks and the Indians, the Punjabi crafts in the museum (such as ivory-work, shawls, and silk manufactures), justified a positive influence of the colonial intervention in the local craft practices and economy.

Percy Brown, who took charge of the Lahore museum as chief curator in 1899, viewed the museum as an institution where the local history could be understood through the display of artworks. By displaying various art manufactures, he called the display, "the story of the India workman", where for the spectator, "the entire history of the nation is displayed for his benefit, and he has to follow it out, example by example, to see what a wonderful story it is".[148] Brown believed that art could be understood in an objective way as intended by its maker.[149] Like Thornton and Kipling, he viewed the development of Indian art on the basis of faiths of ruling dynasties: the Buddhist art was perfected due to the Greek influences; when

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[146] "The state of the arts and crafts dependent on architecture had sunk to a low standard, but there are signs that with an increasing demand for sound work [in the European markets], an improvement is gradually taking place". Ibid., p. 49.

[147] From this perspective, both admired contemporary crafts of lacquered-ware (wood and pottery) collected from Pakpatten and Derajat. To encourage European traders to "experiment" with the local crafts and export these abroad, the curator displayed one specimen of a coloured lac applied on a British beer-bottle. The Kashmiri papier-mache, with motifs, similar to the Kashmiri shawls, were displayed to show the adapting abilities of the local artisans, and how the same designs could be applied to different materials and objects. The patterns of the Kashmiri shawls were also applied on the items such as caskets, stationary boxes, etc. Ibid., pp. 80-1.

[148] Brown, *A Descriptive Guide to the Industrial Arts*, p. v.

[149] Brown considered "art", "the spirit and temperament of the nation; industrial art mirrors the aims and inspirations of that interesting community the working class". Ibid.

the popular religion of Brahmins started influencing the Indian artisans, a dark age was ushered in, but the Greek influence continued; then, the Muslims used the skills of the Hindu artisans and developed the local art and architecture by introducing the Arabic and Persian styles. The Hindu artisan forgot his own art and began to build mosques without understanding the meanings to his craft practice. During the Mughal rule, the Indian and Persian traditions developed side by side, influencing each other; afterwards, the Sikhs improved the art and architecture of the Muslim period. Brown believed that the state must direct the local artisans according to the emerging demands. For him, the British performed the same role of improving the local crafts as the Muslims in the medieval period. Although it was an "unsatisfactory transition" and a painful process from an "artistic point of view", the local artisans began to learn European methods and styles as reflected in the display of the museum.[150]

Brown failed to understand the "theoretical bases" of the art practices within the local knowledge by ignoring that the artisans used similar designs in different religious architecture. I will provide two examples to show how Brown relied on stylistic aspects of artefacts to associate them with different religious communities. The first example is architectural wood-work in the museum. Percy Brown showed the style as "Hindu" because the upper panels of the doors had images of Ganesh. One door had an image of Ganesh along with geometrical patterns and *pinjra* work. He conjectured that such style could have been practiced in the reign of the Mughal emperor, Akbar (r. 1556-1605), who encouraged the intermingling of both communities. Unlike Muslims, the Sikh craftsmen had no religious

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[150]Ibid., p. vii.

restrictions so they used various images of human beings, animals and flowers in their crafts.[151]

Percy Brown's analysis shows that he was not aware of the Muslim tomb architecture in the western parts of India, especially in Sind, where not only floral patterns were frequently used but the images of different humans and animals were also carved or painted on the walls.[152] He overlooked that the Muslim and Hindu craftsmen from Lahore, Amritsar, Bhera and Chiniot did most of the wood-work in the Sikh *gurdwara* and *havelis*.[153] In other words, Brown misperceived the stylistic aspects of architectural wood-work, which in most of the cases, the local communities shared.

My second example is the display of musical instruments. Percy Brown argued that the Muslim invaders introduced Persian and Arabic instruments in India. However, the Hindus continued to use their traditional instruments, which could have some linkages to the European instruments.[154] In this case as well, Brown's assertion is wrong because the so-called Hindu musical instruments such as *flute*, *tabla*, *dhol,* and *been* were equally popular

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[151]Ibid., pp. 5-9.

[152]For instance, in Chaukhandi tombs of various tribes in Karachi and Thatta (Sind) constructed between the twelfth and eighteenth centuries had excessive human and animal figures. The eighteenth century Kalhoras tombs in Sukkur and Dadu (Sind) also had paintings of different animals (cattle, crocodile and fish). Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *The Islamic Architectural Heritage of Pakistan: Funerary Memorial Architecture* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2001), pp. 135-49.

[153]Mulk Raj Anand (ed.), *Maharaja Ranjit Singh, As Patron of the Arts* (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981), p. 44. Brown also ignored that Ranjit Singh followed the late Mughal style in his architectural wood-work, similarly, many Sikh craftsmen were involved in building the Sufi shrines, especially in Lahore and other parts of eastern Punjab.

[154]Brown identified three categories of the ancient Hindu musical instruments: *Tata-vantra* or Stringed instruments, normally used by *fakirs*; Beaten instruments, without any cover, these include bells, cymbals, and are used in temples; Beaten instruments with skins, such as drums; wind instruments, such as flute. Brown, *A Descriptive Guide to the Industrial Arts*, pp. 9-14.

among the Muslims. Several Punjabi Sufis used these instruments as a symbol in their poetry to communicate Sufi teachings.[155]

4.2.5. Public Responses

For some scholars the function of the museum is similar to a shrine's, as it allegedly preserves and displays sacred and historical relics and is attended by keepers, who expect a respectful behaviour from visitors.[156] Works on museums which rely on the Foucauldian framework also assume that the public received the curatorial discourses as intended, through the careful selection, classification and display of the exhibits.[157] This univocal design is questioned by scholars such as Guha-Thakurta and Gyan Prakash,[158] who propose that curators tried to disseminate colonial knowledge by using archaeology and science, but the visitors viewed the museums as *tamasha-gher* (play-house) and *jadu-gher* (magic house). My argument too is that the locals visited the Lahore museum as a place of entertainment and contested the hegemonic perspectives of the curators, and so nullified the educational and commercial purpose the colonial administrators intended.

The colonial museum and the Sufi shrine present an interesting contrast. The intention of the Sufis and the artisans was to use the building as an identity marker in religious and cultural terms. As discussed in chapter 2, different communities perceived shrines in multiple ways

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[155]For instance, in eighteenth-century Sufi poetry, *Heer Waris Shah*, flute symbolizes a relationship of love and repulsion from the mundane activities of daily life.
[156]For the discussion on museums as shrines, see "Introduction" to Janet Marstine (ed.), *New Museum Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010, 5th edition), pp. 9-11; Wendy M.K. Shaw, "Tra(ve)ils of Secularism: Islam in Museums from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic" in Derek Peterson and Darren Walhof (eds.), *The Invention of Religion: Rethinking Belief in Politics and History* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), p. 150.
[157]Tony Bennett, *Critical Trajectories: Culture, Society, Intellectuals* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp.101-38. For a survey on this aspect, see Sheila Watson, *Museums and their Communities* (New York,: Routledge, 2007), pp. 9-10.
[158]Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories*, pp. 79-82; Prakash, *Another Reason*, p. 34.

but largely they understood it as representing the "Muslim identity" and "Islamic rule" in India. The Lahore museum aimed at disseminating colonial knowledge but its reception was contrary to its objectives. A few documents provide clues to gauge the public response to the museum. The visitors viewed the exhibits from two main perspectives; most of them believed the collection to be a wondrous (*ajaib*) and strange (*ajeeb*) sight and a source of entertainment; a few also felt proud about the display of their religious artefacts.

Kipling mentions in his correspondence the local phrase used for the Lahore museum as *ajaib-gher* (wonder-house).[159] A few local historians, such as Kanehia Lal and Noor Ahmad Chishti, also use a similar phrase, *ajaib gah*.[160] The word *ajaib* in nineteenth-century context was used for "wondrous", "strange", or "weird". Kanehia Lal's expressions such as "strange birds", "strange pots", "strange collections of emperors and *jagirdars"* (feudal lords), etc. reflect a sense of amazement among many visitors, who however could not appreciate the instructional objectives of the display. So the sight of these became a source of amusement "without" education. This is why sometimes, the phrase *tamasha gah* or *tamasha gher* (play-house) was also used for the museums. The annual increase in the number of visitors should be understood within this perspective. The visitors, especially from villages, increased during the Sufi *mela* (especially the *mela chiragan*)[161] or the Hindu religious festivals, because they viewed the museum as a place for recreation.

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[159]Kipling, "Report of the Lahore Central Museum for 1875-76", p. 1.
[160]Kanehia Lal, *tarikh-e-Lahore* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2001, [1884]), pp. 409-12; Chishti, *tahkeekaty chishti*, pp. 704-7.
[161]During the *mela chiraghan*, average attendance increased to 3,000 persons per day. From J.L. Kipling, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore to the Junior Sec. to government, Punjab, letter no.25, dated 13 May 1886, Lahore, "Review of the Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the year, 1885-86", in the *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue and Agriculture*, General, no.1 (June 1886), p. 1.

Kipling's frequent complaints about loud noises in the museum also imply that the locals took it as an amusement. In one of the reports, Kipling suggested to charge a fee to the visitors, in order to stop them from shouting, and to compel them to focus on the display.[162] Even the staff and the students of local educational institutions did not take the museum seriously.[163] In other words, for most visitors, the museum was a place for entertainment, as in the case of the Indian Museum in Calcutta, which was popularly called *jadu-gher* (magic-house) or *ajaib-gher* (wonder house).

While discussing contemporary museums and their relation to the visitors, several scholars, such as Gaynor Kavanagh,[164] Steven Lubar,[165] and Anna Green,[166] suggest that the visitors establish a kind of association with the display by relating the exhibits to their memories. To a lesser degree, it happened also in the Lahore museum, where some of the visitors established their association with the religious exhibits. For instance, a Sikh organization requested the museum to display "brass howitzers" at some higher place because these belonged to the time of Guru Gobind Singh.[167] Perhaps to increase such an interest, Percy Brown purchased portraits of famous Sufis such as Shah Shams Taberaz, Data Ganj Buksh,

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[162]From J.L. Kipling, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore to the Junior Sec. to government, Punjab, Letter no.45, dated 20 May 1889, Lahore, "Report of the Working of the Lahore Museum, 1888-89", p.1.

[163]"It is perhaps matter for regret that it is not more used by teachers as affording object lessons to ordinary school-boys, and possibly in a more serious and systematic way by more advanced students". Kipling, "Report of the Lahore Central Museum for 1876-77", p. 2.

[164]Gaynor Kavanagh, "Making Histories, Making Memories", in Gaynor Kavanagh (ed.), *Making Histories in Museums* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), p. 2.

[165]Steven Lubar, "Exhibiting Memories" in Amy Henderson & Adrienne L. Kaeppler (eds.), *Exhibiting Dilemmas: Issues of Representation at the Smithsonian* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), pp. 15-27.

[166]Anna Green, "The Exhibition that Speaks for Itself: Oral History and Museums" in R. Perks and A. Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 416-24.

[167]From J.L. Kipling, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore to the Officiating Junior Sec. to government, Punjab, Letter no. 63, dated 15 May 1885, Lahore, "Review of the Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1884-85" in the *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue and Agriculture*, General, no.9 (June 1885), p. 3.

and Sakhi Sarwar. [168] In this way, the visitors took religious artefacts or paintings as part of their belief system, rather than from the historical or instructional point of view. So these two processes of identification and amazement occurred together, depending upon the understanding of the visitor.

Both these responses challenged the perspectives of the curators and the objectives of the museum. The museum was not simply meant to entertain the visitors without purpose; it aimed at educating the locals about their own history and crafts, which could transform them into an educated citizen of the liberal British empire. Similarly, the display of religious artefacts was not intended to invoke *baraka*; rather, such display aimed to appeal to the "critical" abilities of the visitors to judge their own art.[169] In the early half of the twentieth century, a few administrators in the Indian museums began to voice their concerns about the reception of the exhibits. The instances of Bhai Ram Singh, who for one year (1898-99) served as the curator of the Lahore museum, and J.Ph. Vogel, the officiating director-general of ASI, can be cited here.

In 1907, Bhai Ram Singh raised this issue in a conference of curators and argued that the exhibits were not received as intended because the museum catalogues were in English, which was not understood by the Punjabi artisans and the general public. Ram Singh suggested to publish the museum catalogues in vernacular.[170] However, the other curators contested this view and argued that they only wanted to interact with the "educated" visitors

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[168]From Percy Brown, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore to the Revenue and Financial Sec. to government, Punjab, Letter no.48, dated 13 July 1900, Lahore, "Review of the Report on the Working of the Lahore Museum, 1899-1900", in the *Proceedings of the Revenue and Agriculture Department,* General, Nos. 44-51 (September 1900), p. 2.

[169]It should not lead us to believe that the museums assumed a sacred space among the locals. There was a small collection of "sacred" exhibits.

[170]*Report of the Conference as regards Museums in India, held at Calcutta,* pp. 25-6.

not with the general public or the illiterate artisans. In another conference, Vogel, again, raised this issue:

> The Hindustani term *ajaib ghar* or *ajaib khana* (Kipling translates it by 'Wonder House') by which museums are indicted in this country has always appeared to me to be significant of the attitude of the Indian public towards such institutions. Museums, in the popular idea, are indeed places of recreation where one can see and wonder. That they are appreciated as such is proved by the very large attendance on which the Curators are in the habit of priding themselves in their annual progress reports…I need hardly add that this point of view is not a high one and that a museum serves a more dignified object than the temporary amusement of the crowd.[171]

Vogel contended that it was impossible for the public to view the display for educational purposes if these were not properly arranged, labelled and catalogued. The information could be communicated to the visitors by "oral tuition". However, the management of the colonial museums including the Lahore museum did not take any step to engage the visitors either through oral tuition or vernacular catalogues and the museum continued to be in the locals' eyes a place displaying strange and amusing things.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter explains that the colonial state was not able to achieve its objectives in organizing the exhibitions and setting up the Lahore museum. The objectives were to legitimize the colonial rule by assuming responsibility for improving the half-forgotten crafts and incorporating the local artisans in the global trade. The mechanisms adopted to execute such plans had some serious limitations, apart from unanticipated public responses. The political control did not entail a control over the local culture, throughout the second half of

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[171]J.Ph. Vogel, "Museums as Educational Institutions" in *Report on the Museums Conference held in Madras, January 15 to 17 1912* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1912), p. 15.

the nineteenth century, the colonial state struggled to engage the artisans and the general public through the art institutions.

In the case of the colonial exhibitions, the collection of the exhibits, design of the exhibition sites, involvement of the locals in the juries, and the responses of the artisans altered the intended objectives of the events. The local artisans mainly responded to the colonial exhibitions with suspicion. They believed such events as a strategy for promoting colonial trade. The artisan communities attached to the Sufi shrines preferred to participate in the Sufi *mela* rather collaborating with the state.

The Lahore museum operated in the same way as the colonial art instruction institutions and exhibitions. The objectives of the museum were hegemonic: to preserve the local crafts and to encourage colonial trade. The curators selectively used the exhibits to voice their perspective to justify the colonial rule. If the Sufi communities were using "religion" for identifying the shrine architecture, the curators also explained stylistic aspects of the exhibits within religiously characterized phases of Indian history. The response of the locals to the Lahore museum was different than that anticipated; the visitors saw the museum as a site for entertainment and recreation. Contrary to the Lahore museum, the local artisans considered the Sufi shrines as a reference manual for their architectural undertakings and they regularly visited such sites to copy various architectural elements in their new projects.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has shown, through the study of folktales, Sufi shrines, colonial architecture, exhibitions and museums, that culture cannot be always controlled through political rule. The colonial state established art institutions in collaboration with the locals in Punjab, but did not share with them any historical experience, religious belief, cultural trait or world-view. As a result, these institutions struggled to influence the local craft practices including architecture. Nineteenth-century Sufis remained culturally dominant and helped in formulating a "Muslim identity", which was articulated in twentieth-century politics leading to the establishment of a Muslim state. By way of conclusion, I will briefly summarize the main points of this study.

Punjabi folktales show that a close relationship existed between Sufis and artisans in pre-colonial period. The relationship was based on the concept of *baraka*, the blessing powers of a Sufi, which could ensure the social and material well-being of the local artisans. With the development of Sufi institutions, such as *khanqah*, shrines, and *urs* (annual Sufi festivals), and the involvement of Sufis in craft practices either by heading the artisan communities or themselves practicing the craft, *baraka* became an integral part of the artisans' lives and their professions. Medieval kings and emperors, nobles, traders and artisan communities patronized most of the Sufis in Punjab to invoke *baraka*, which led to the development of Sufi institutions providing economic opportunities for the local traders and artisans, in turn increasing their belief in Sufism. Especially from the mid-seventeenth-century onwards, the Sufi *adab* in general and the concept of *baraka* in particular began to be challenged due to a number of factors, such as the development of rational sciences in the Islamic tradition, the increasing political role of *ulema*, the decreasing royal patronage of the Sufis, the emergence of autonomous non-Muslim dynasties, continuous revolts and wars in the subcontinent. However, *baraka* continued to attract the artisans to Sufis in various parts of Punjab.

Nineteenth-century forms of Sufism in Punjab were also different from its predecessors. In this period, the Chishti Sufis dominated the region, established their *khanqah* and built shrines. They focussed on religion in different ways: they favoured the establishment of an Islamic state where religion could be practiced; some of them participated in *jihad* against the Sikhs and the British; others supported the local Muslim rulers in the struggle to retain their political authority; some of them helped the British against the Sikhs to get rid of the latter, who targeted mosques and shrines. Architecture, rituals and festivals at shrines were important tools used by Chishti Sufis to distinguish local Muslims culturally from the rest of the communities.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Punjabi artisans entertained a close relationship with the Sufis. The Sufi worldview did not distinguish between the religion and temporal world; religious, social and economic well-being of the artisans was an integral part of Sufis' preaching. The artisans willingly participated in the *jihadi* activities under the Sufis and they were also involved in various rituals at the Sufi shrines. Punjabi Chishti Sufis placed strong emphasis on the Arabic and Persian Sufi traditions, unlike their predecessors, who were more interested in the Indian traditions. At their *khanqah*, Sufis such as Suleman Taunsvi and Shamsuddin Siyalvi translated the Arabic and Persian texts for their audience to enforce a distinctive "Islamic" cultural identity, which previously was not emphasized by the Punjabi Sufis.

The interaction of Suleman Taunsvi with the local artisans during the construction of Taunsvi's shrine shows the ideological intention of the Sufi in linking architecture to religious identity. Taunsvi related different decorative motifs and images with various mystical ideas, and most of these interpretations are still part of the artisans' oral traditions. Taunsvi himself was not a practicing craftsman, and he neither came up with a new

architectural style for his shrine, nor did he interpret every architectural element with his mystical ideas. What has survived in the artisans' oral tradition is the interpretation of some of the motifs, which could easily be related to Taunsvi's lectures and the ideas of *jihad* against the Sikhs and the British. In this way, the construction of shrines became a very political act intended to define Muslim identity vis-à-vis other communities. The patrons (Taunsvi and his successors) and the builders (the artisan families involved in this project) had the same intention of professing such ideas. Taunsvi's shrine should not be considered an exception. Artisans attached similar meanings to the building of every shrine, suggesting a deep-rooted relation of mystical ideas to architecture, which defined "Muslim identity" in the context of nineteenth-century Punjab.

The reception of the Sufi shrines was dependent on the experiences and beliefs of various communities but the question of Muslim identity remained central to most of these perspectives. The shrine-based communities believed that a Sufi shrine was a source of *baraka*; they could get benefit from the Sufi, who was believed to be alive spiritually and bodily in his grave. The Sikhs and the British destroyed or damaged many Sufi shrines during the invasions, which intensified the association of these communities with shrines, as they began to see such buildings as a symbol of their Islamic identity. Even those Muslims who were not staunch followers of Sufism, began to perceive the Sufi shrines as a marker of Muslim identity in the post-1857 context. These Muslims who had some exposure to the colonial institutions, believed Sufi shrines to be symbols of "glorious" Muslim rule in India. Some puritanical circles viewed shrines as un-Islamic and inspired from the Hindu religion, but these views could hardly influence the majority of the Punjabi Muslims, who continued to identify themselves with Sufism. The British officials and the scholars also variously received Sufi shrines: as a symbol of Muslim architecture and rule; as mystic centres; or

places for superstitious rituals. So, the intention of the Sufis to represent a distinctive Muslim identity through shrine architecture was largely received as such. The annual Sufi *mela* and various rituals performed at such places also helped in disseminating the Sufi perspectives about shrines.

Sufis engaged artisans through their *khanqah,* shrine architecture and *melas,* while the colonial state engaged artisans through art education, architectural projects, exhibitions and museums. The main objective of establishing the Mayo School of Arts was to revive the half-forgotten crafts in the region to help the locals to produce Oriental designs which were in high demand in Europe, and thus to integrate the artisans into the global economy. The British officials used the curriculum of the English schools of design to teach the Punjabi artisans "scientific" method of craftsmanship. Limited funds, non-availability of the trained staff, and unanticipated responses of the local students altered the objectives. Eventually, the school administration hired "illiterate" artisans to train students.

Like Sufi communities, the colonial officials too aimed to represent their ideas through architecture. The British officials combined architectural elements from different traditions (such as the Hindu temple, Sultanate, Mughals, Sikh *gurdwara,* Sufi shrines) in their architectural undertakings to represent a liberal empire comprising different ethnic and religious communities. A major problem with this eclectic style was that such buildings did not fit in any one tradition. Eclectic architecture received severe criticism even from some British officials as well as from the local communities. The colonial state abandoned this eclectic style in the early twentieth century.

The colonial officials failed to engage the local artisans through exhibitions, which were intended to introduce craft practices that could meet the demands of the global market. The

organizers approached the local crafts with pre-conceived classifications which proved useless once they had collected the exhibits. The committees responsible for collecting the exhibits often were not able to do so. The juries responsible for judging the exhibits showed varied responses, such as appreciation, criticism, surprise and curiosity. The Punjabi artisans were suspicious about the exhibitions and believed that the colonial state would impose more taxes after collecting the exhibits and would also share their trade secrets with the European manufacturers. Hence, the artisans preferred to participate in the Sufi *mela* or display work individually in their own villages, which was also economically more beneficial.

The Lahore museum also failed to achieve its objective of educating the locals about their crafts and cultural history. Due to their lack of local knowledge and administrative constraints, the curators could not identify and classify most of the objects. They were undecided about the scope of the museum. Despite these problems, the curators adopted a hegemonic perspective while interpreting the exhibits. The responses of the local artisans and the general public altogether changed the notions of the museum, thereby altering its objectives. They treated the Lahore museum as a site for entertainment. The museum could not influence local architectural practices or develop a "critical" perspective among locals about their crafts. However, the styles of Sufi shrines remained ideal for the local builders which could be completely or partially followed. Shrines also disseminated Sufi ideas through various rituals and festivals. In other words, in the cultural domain, Sufi institutions were more influential in nineteenth-century Punjab than colonial institutions.

This dissertation opens new possible areas for research; for instance, the active participation of locals in defining their own identities, rather than associating them with elites or colonialism; the role of Sufis as patrons of art and architecture, and the implications of their art and architectural works in the cultural and political spheres. Local identities in the

nineteenth century were not imposed by the colonial state; in fact, the locals consciously adopted them, because of their historical interaction with different communities, revolts, revivalist movements, and economic and social factors. Colonialism can be considered one of these factors but scholars have over-emphasised it, thus reducing the locals to mere puppets in the hands of elites and the state. Scholars working on colonialism can also study the interaction of the British and locals at contact points (institutions), where discordant voices, personal and collective interests, unintended decisions, and unforeseen circumstances led to situations which cannot be viewed as predesigned or predestined. Thus, the categories of colonized and colonizer cannot be taken for granted, and the relation between locals and colonial officials must be examined by considering the situational circumstances.

ILLUSTRATIONS

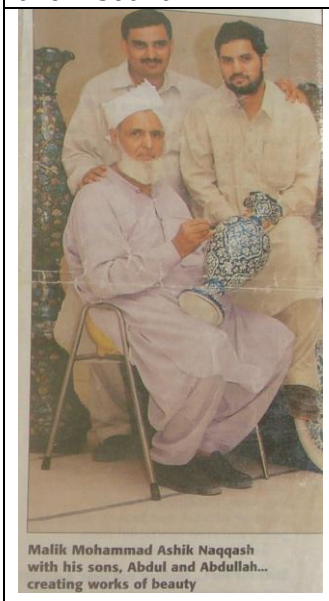
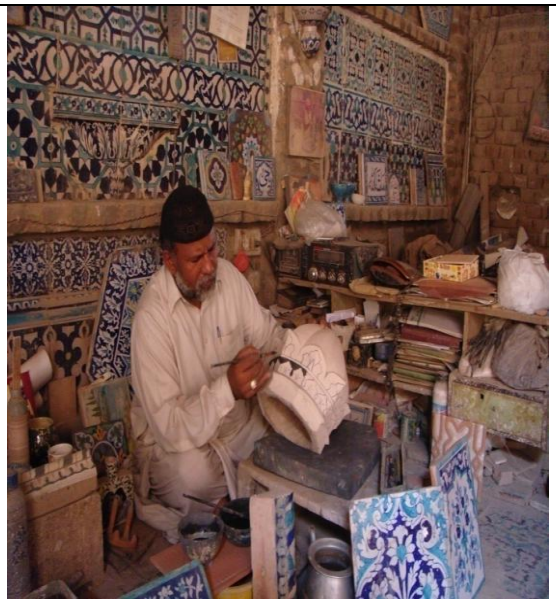
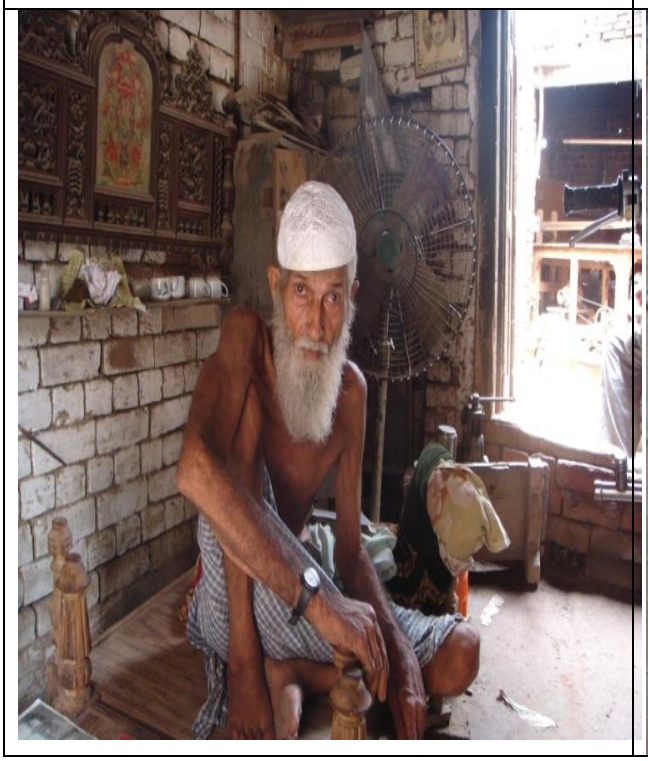
Illustration 1. Rajput Family, Multan. Muhammad Ashik (sitting), Abdul Rehman and Abdullah	Illustration: 2. Abdul Wajid, *kashiger* (tile-maker and decorator) (Multan)
 Malik Mohammad Ashik Naqqash with his sons, Abdul and Abdullah... creating works of beauty	
Illustration 3. Ilahi Baksh, carpenter, Chiniot	Illustration 4. Carpenters of Chiniot, Khan Abdul Rahman Pathan, Hafiz Mian Allah Baksh Pathan (1920)
	

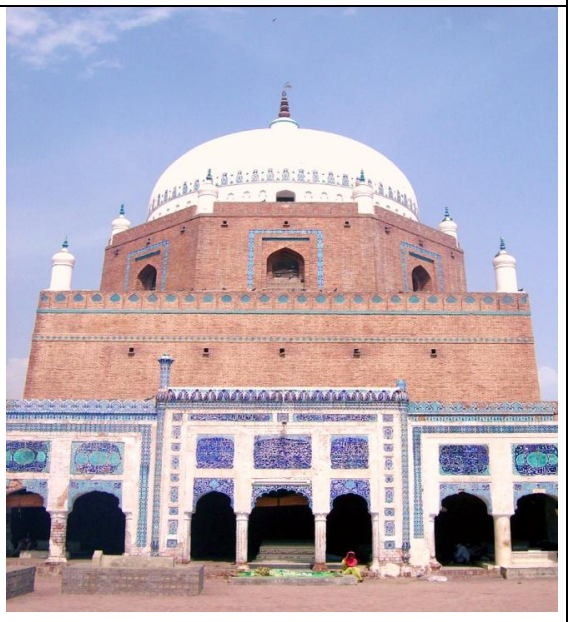
Illustration: 5. Shrine of a renowned Suhrawardi Sufi, Shah Rukn-e-Alam (1251-1335), in Multan, probably constructed between 1320 and 1324.	Illustration: 6. Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya (1170-1267), was grandfather of Rukn-e-Alam, and a famous Suhrawardi Sufi. The shrine was destroyed by the British in 1849 but the locals reconstructed it in the 1850s according to the previous design.
	

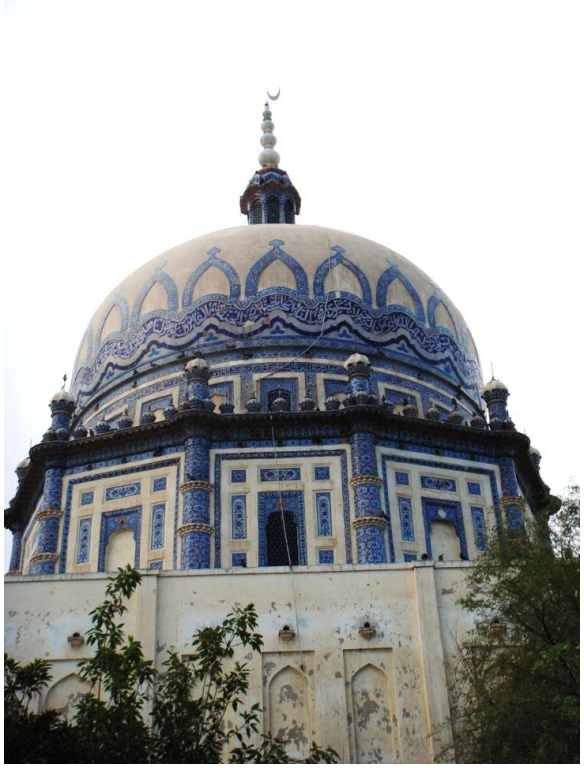
Illustration: 7. Shrine of Shah Ali Muhammad Hussain, who came from Mashhad (Iran) to Multan in 1499. The shrine is located in Multan.	Illustration: 8. Shrine of an Islamili Sufi, Sultan Ali Akbar, was constructed in Multan in the sixteenth century. It has followed the plan of Shah Rukn-e-Alam's shrine.
	

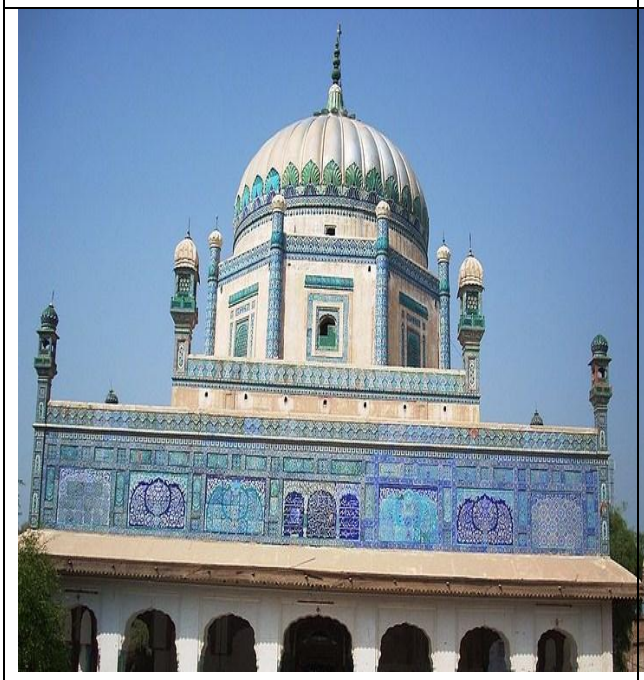
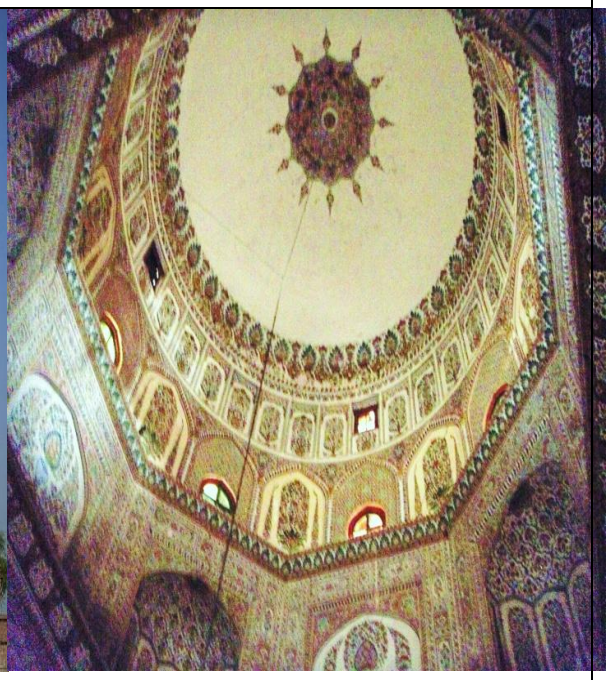
Illustration: 9. Thirteenth-century Sufi Makhdoom Abdul Rasheed Haqqani was the cousin of Bahauddin Zakariya and disciple of Sayyid Ali Hamdani, a Persian Sufi. His shrine is located at Makhdoom Rasheed, Multan.	Illustration: 10. Inside view of the dome of the shrine at Makhdoom Rasheed, Multan.
	

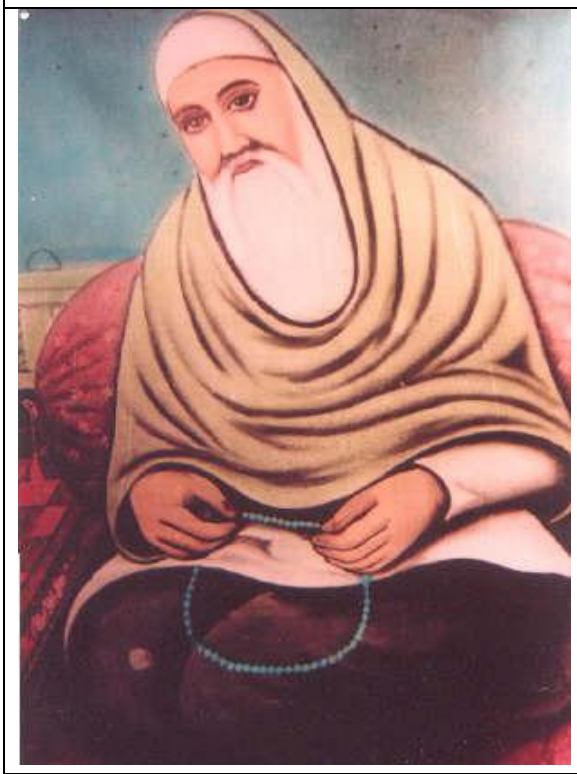
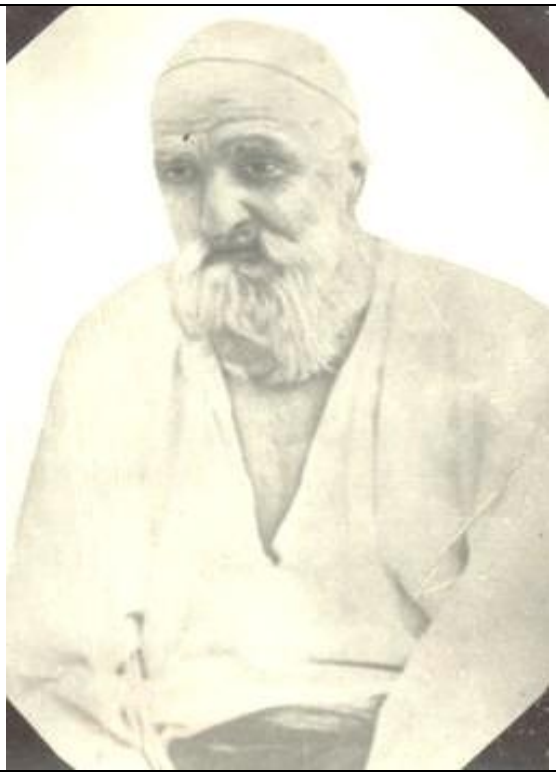
Illustration: 11. Khwaja Suleman Taunsvi (1770-1850).	Illustration: 12. Khwaja Muhammad Din Siyalvi, a famous Chishti Sufi, patronized a number of constructions in Siyal Shareef, district Shahpur/Sargodha, in the nineteenth century.
	

Illustration: 13. Tomb of a Mughal noble, Asif Khan, who was also the brother of Mughal Queen Nur Jahan. The tomb is located in Lahore and was destroyed by the Sikhs.	Illustration: 14. Shrine of Mughal emperor Jahangir (well-respected among the Sufis), in Lahore. The Sikhs destroyed the building, which was restored by the British.

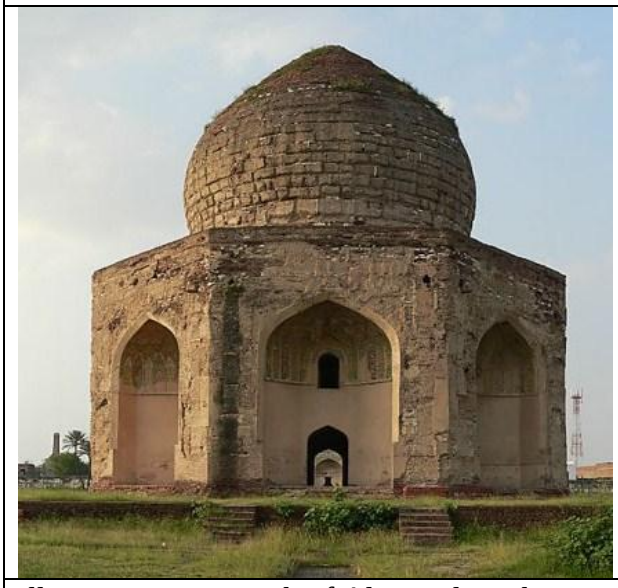



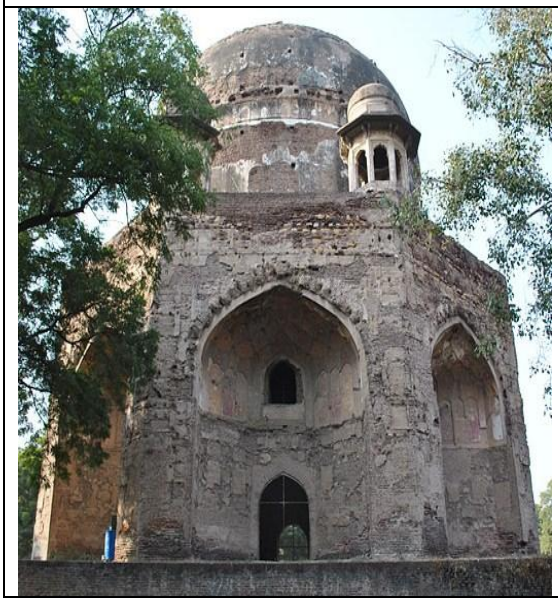
Illustration: 15. Tomb of Ali Mardan Khan (1657), in Lahore. He served as the governor of Lahore, Kabul and Kashmir. The shrine was destroyed by the Sikhs.	Illustration: 16. Shrine of Shah Shams Taberez. It was rebuilt in 1783. In 1818, the Sikhs occupied Multan and converted it to *gurdwara.* For the next twenty years, Muslims could not enter the shrine.
	

Illustration: 17. Seventeenth-century Badshahi Mosque in Lahore was used as stable and depot by the Sikhs.	Illustration: 18. Jamia Mosque Delhi was converted to barrack of British Sikh soldiers soon after 1857. After five years, it was returned to the local Muslims.

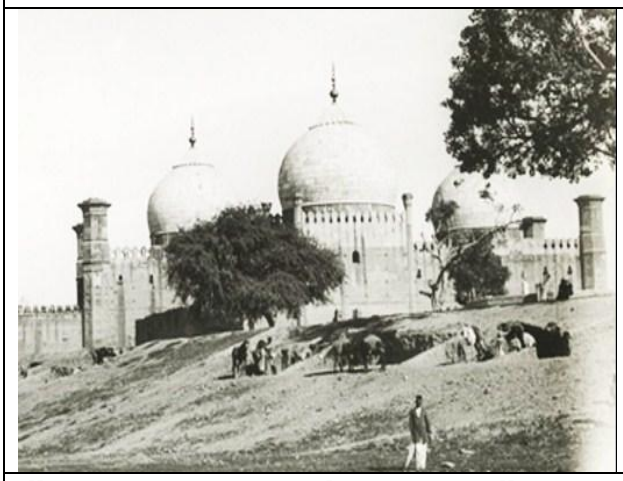



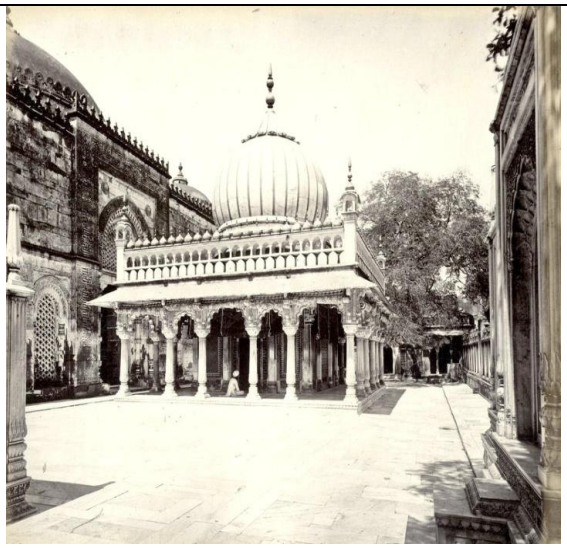
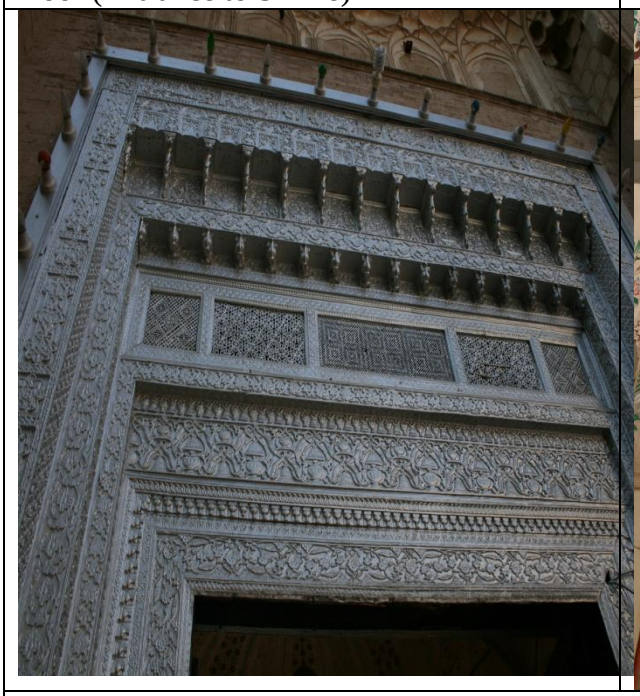
Illustration: 19. Zeenatul Mosque, Delhi. A bakery shop was opened in the mosque, soon after the mutiny in 1857. After twenty years, it was returned to Muslims.	Illustration: 20. Shrine of Nizamuddin Awliya (1238-1325), in Delhi, he was a renowned Chishti Sufi-master. The shrine is constructed in late-Mughal architectural style.
	

Illustration: 21 . Suleman Taunsvi's Shrine (Taunsa Shareef, Dera Ghazi Khan District)

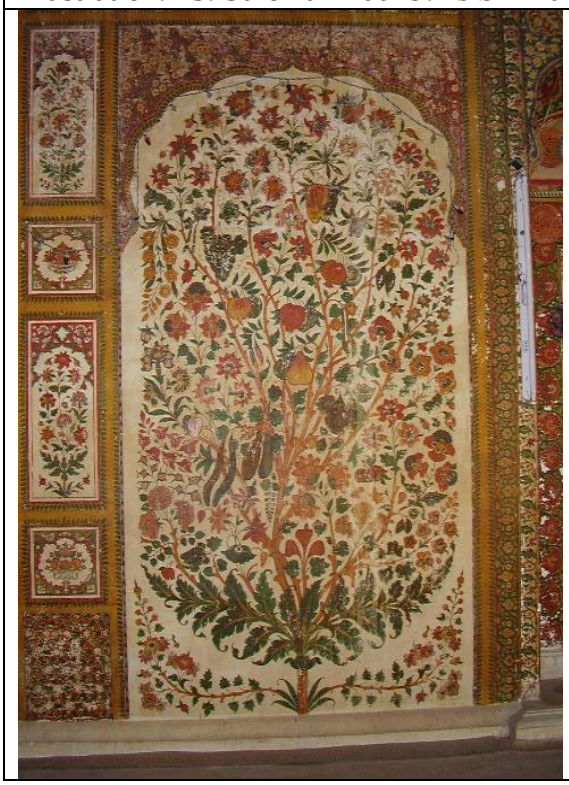
Illustration: 22. Suleman Taunsvi's Shrine

Door (Entrance to Shrine)



Door (Entrance to main hall)

Illustration: 23. Suleman Taunsvi's Shrine (Humago designs)



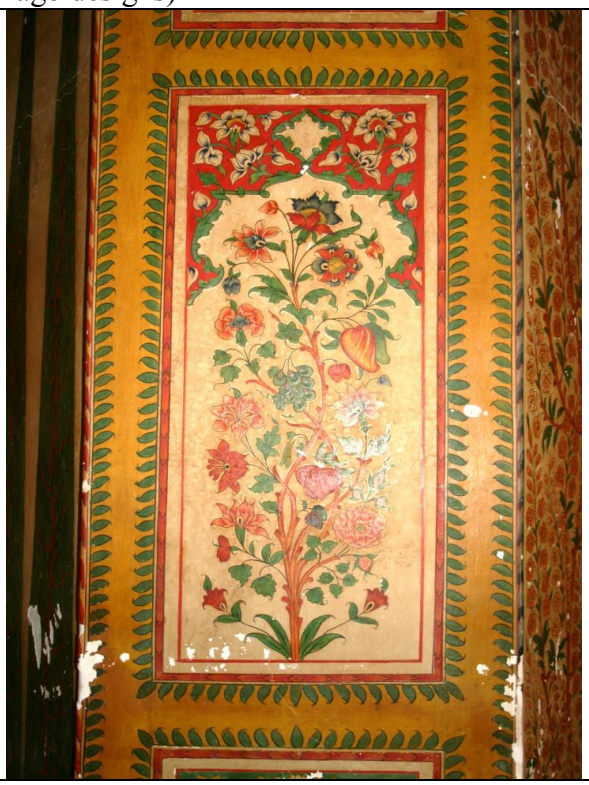


Illustration: 24. (a & b) Taunsvi's Shrine, images representing paradise (fruits, houses, perfume bottles, vases)

Illustration: 25. Suleman Taunsvi's Shrine (inner view of Dome)

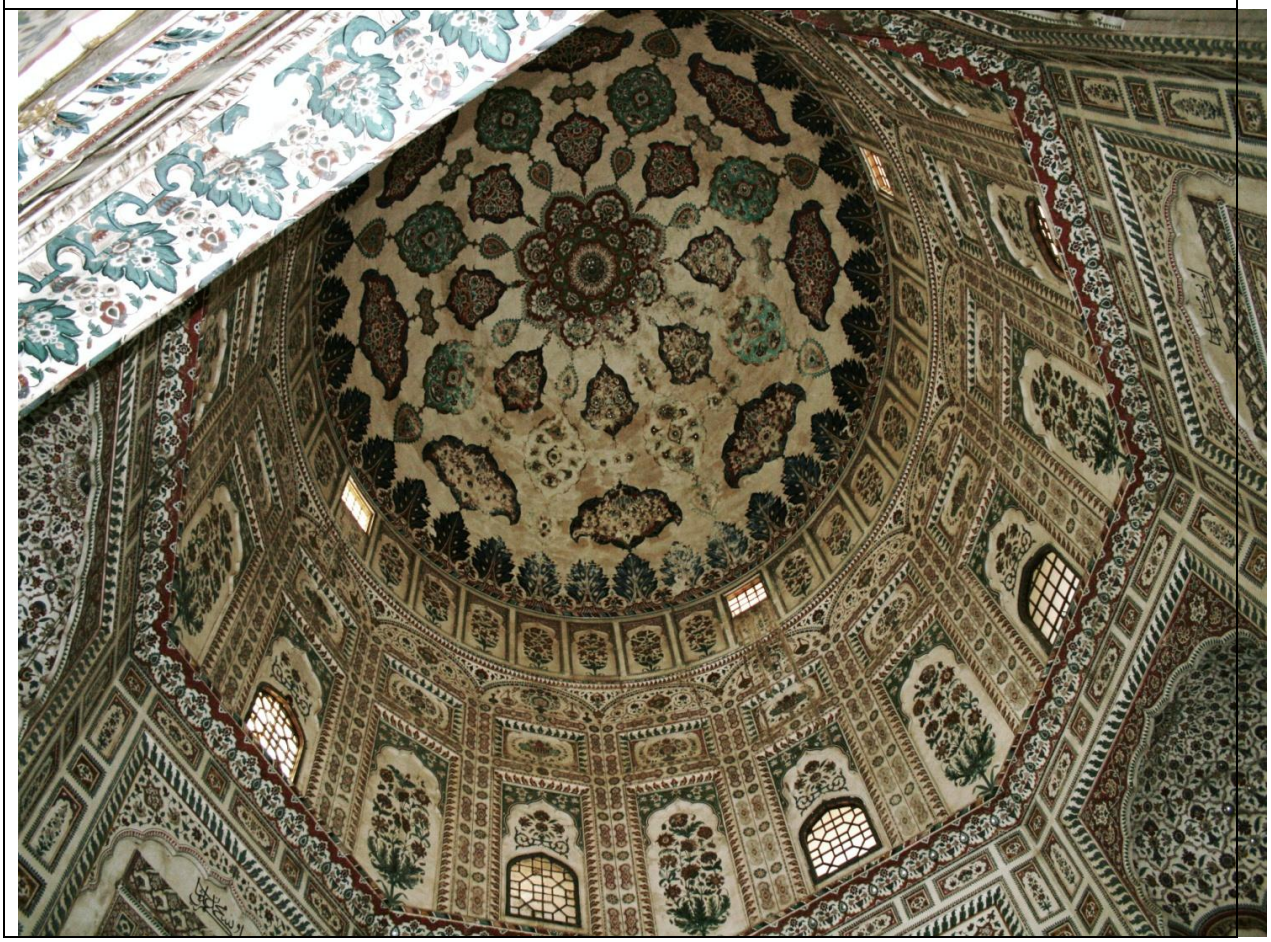


Illustration: 26. Mosque in the Complex of Suleman Taunsvi's Shrine

Illustration: 27. Floral motifs in the shrine of Suleman Taunsvi

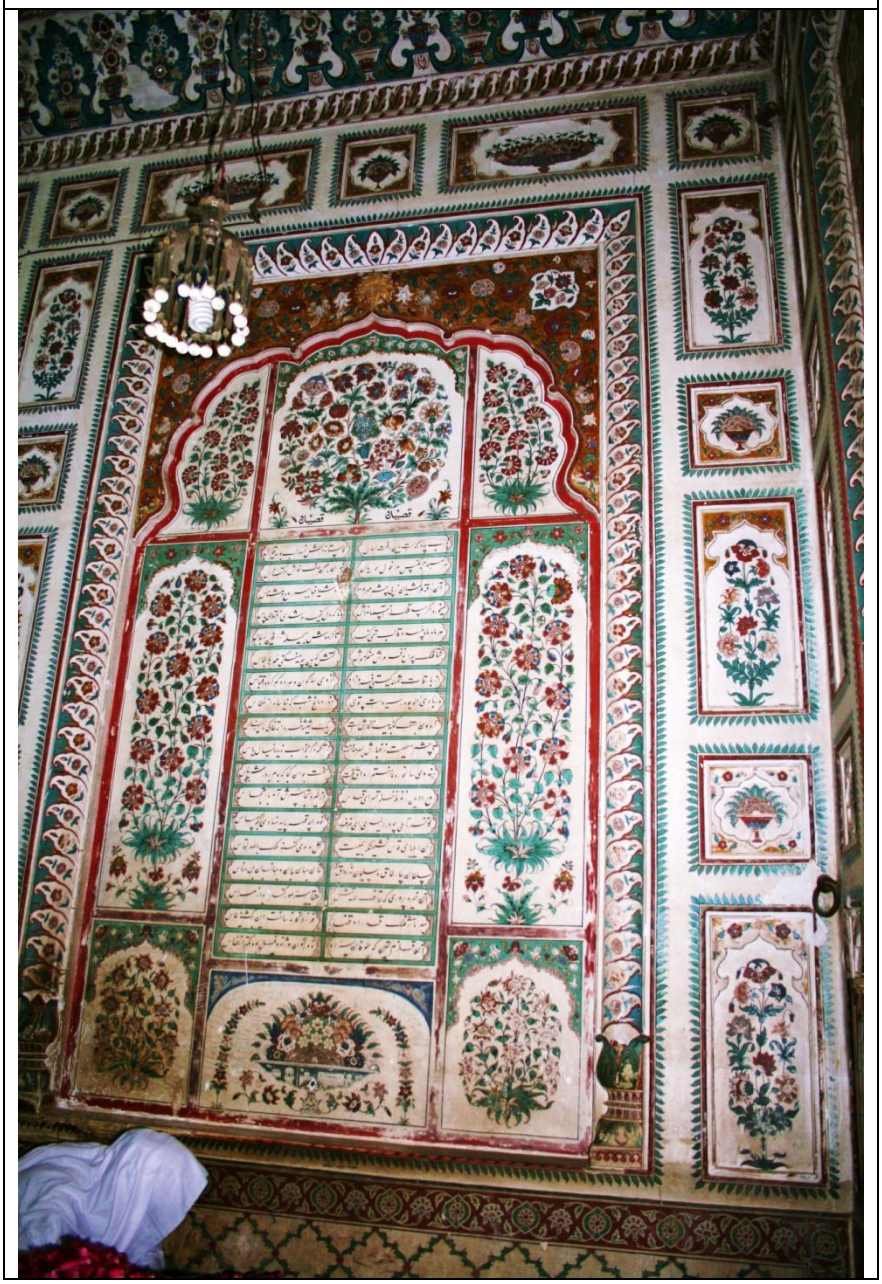


Illustration: 28. Mosque in the Complex of Suleman Taunsvi's Shrine

Marble doorway (dated 1886)

View of a mosque in the shrine complex (dated 1867)

Illustration: 29. The shrine of Suleman Taunsvi's grandson built in 1931, showing the continuation of architectural tradition.

Illustration: 30. Shrine of Khwaja Shamsuddin Siyalvi (1799-1883) in district Sargodha. It is a late nineteenth and early twentieth century construction, and followed the style of Suleman Taunsvi's shrine, except blue tiles.

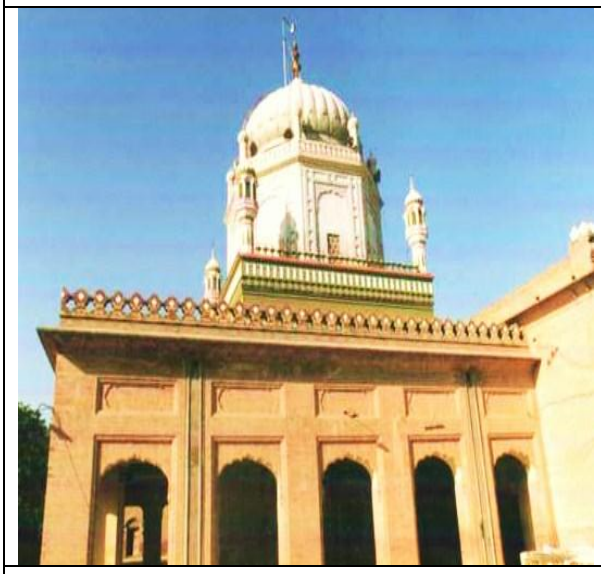


Illustration: 31. Shrine of a Chishti Sufi, Ghulam Haider Shah (1838-1908) in Jalalpur, Punjab. The shrine probably constructed in the early twentieth century

Illustration 32. Shahi Eidgah, Multan (built in 1735 by Nawab Adul Samaad Khan, the governor of Multan). The Sikh and the British used it as a military barrack.

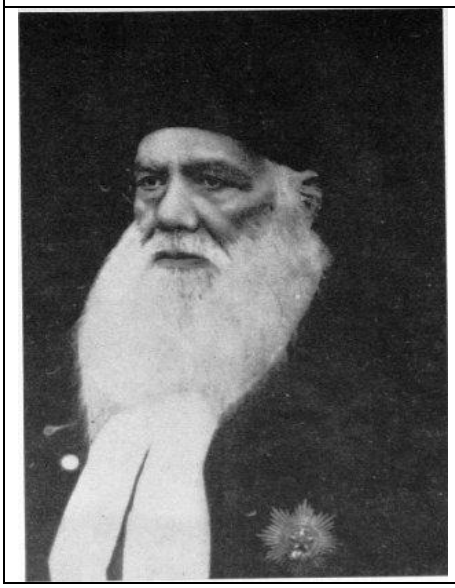
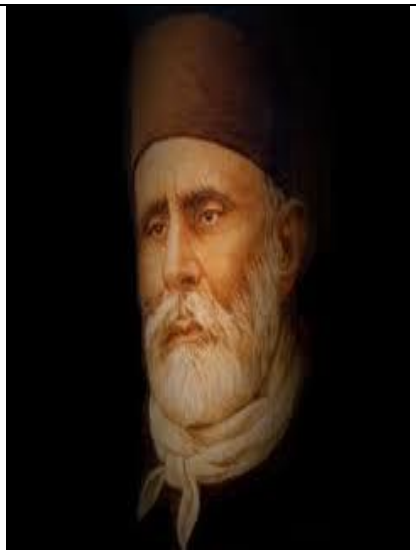
Illustration: 33. Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98)	Illustration: 34. Altaf Hussain Hali (1837-1914)
	

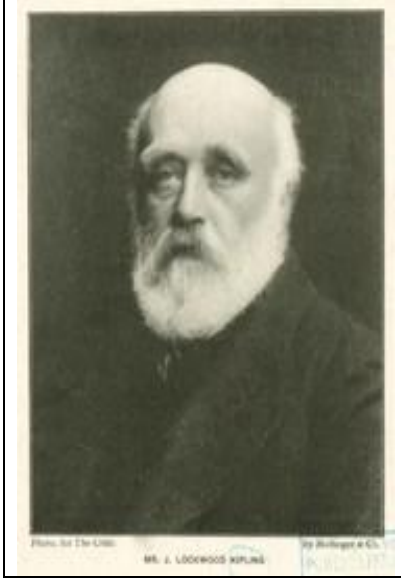
Illustration: 35. John Lockwood Kipling, founding Principal, Mayo School of Arts	Illustration: 36. Bhai Ram Singh (1911), first Indian principal of Mayo School of Arts
	

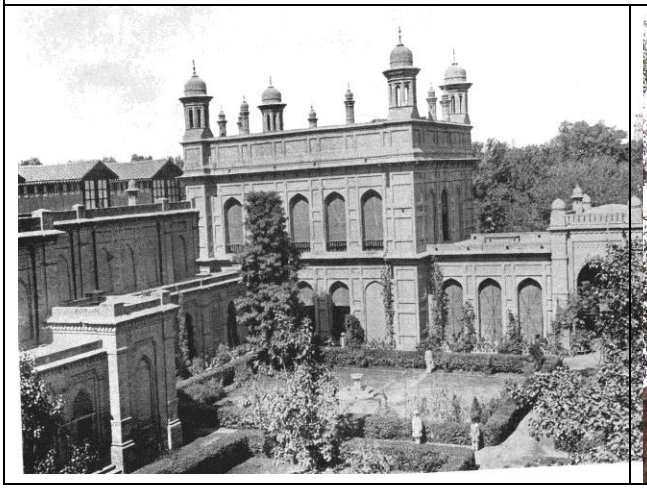
Illustration: 37. J.L. Kipling with the Students and the Staff (1880s)	Illustration: 38. The Mayo School (Workshop, early 1900s)
	
Illustration: 39. Building of the Mayo School of Arts, Lahore (est. 1875)	
	

Illustration: 40. Drawings by traditional artisans a. Drawing by Illahi Baksh (nineteenth-century), (Illustration of Multan city)	b. Drawing by Illahi Baksh (nineteenth-century)

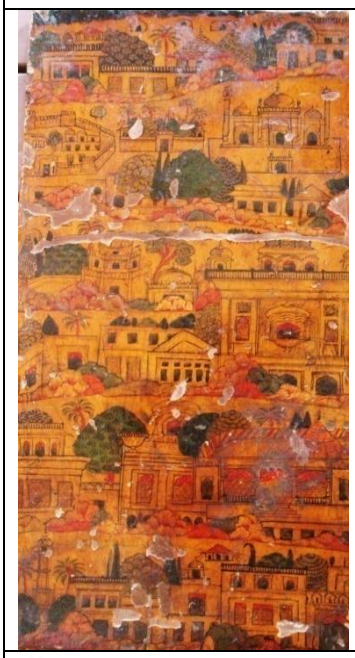



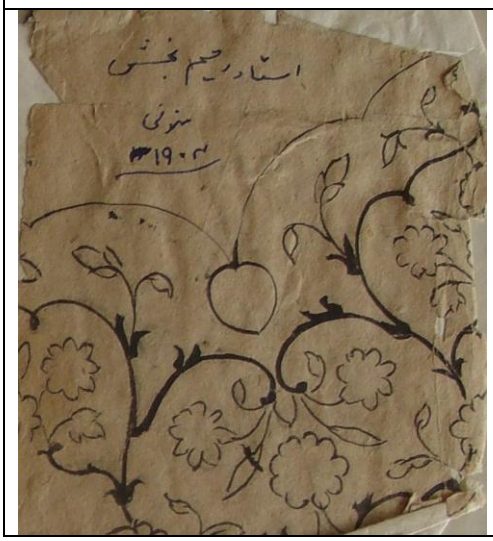
Illustration: 40 (c) Drawing by Raheem Baksh (d.1904)	Illustration: 40 (d) Drawing by Illahi Baksh (nineteenth-century)
	

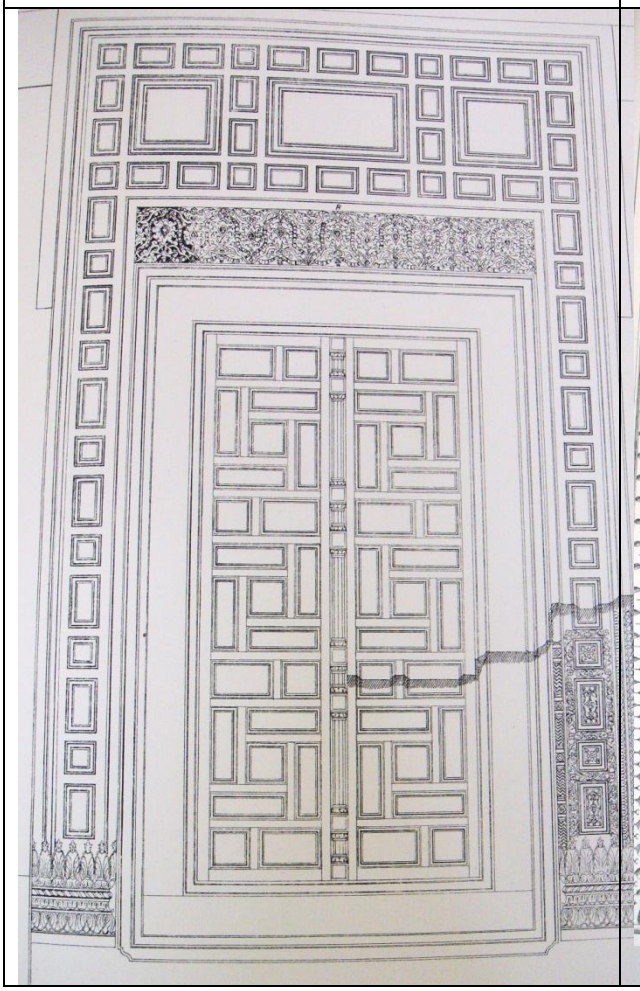
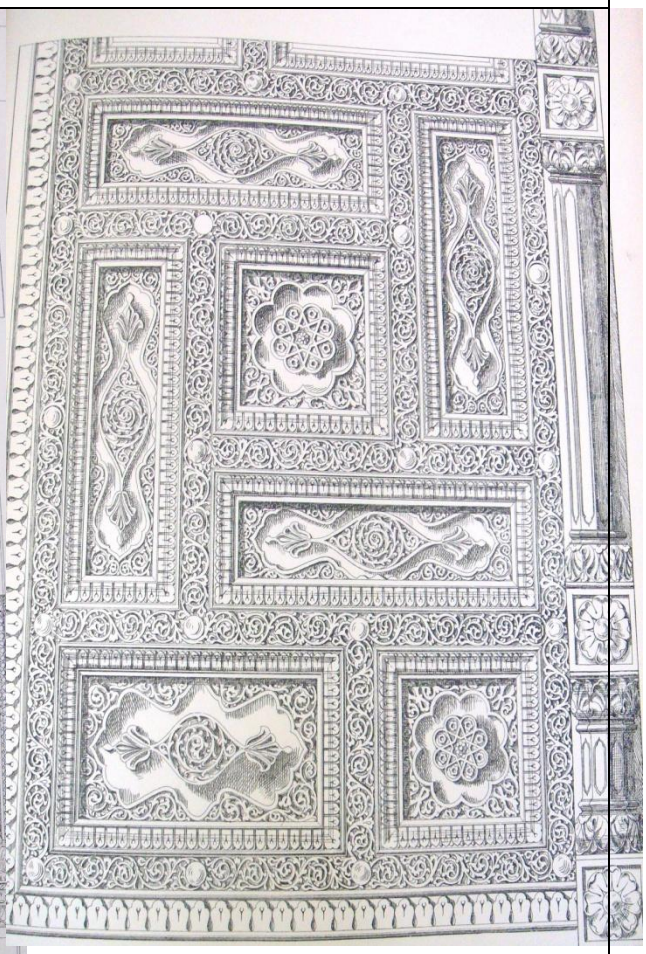
Illustration: 41. Old Door way in Lahore. Drawing by Mowla Baksh (MSA student)	Illustration: 42. Detail of Old Door, Lahore city. Drawing by Amir Baksh (MSA student)
	

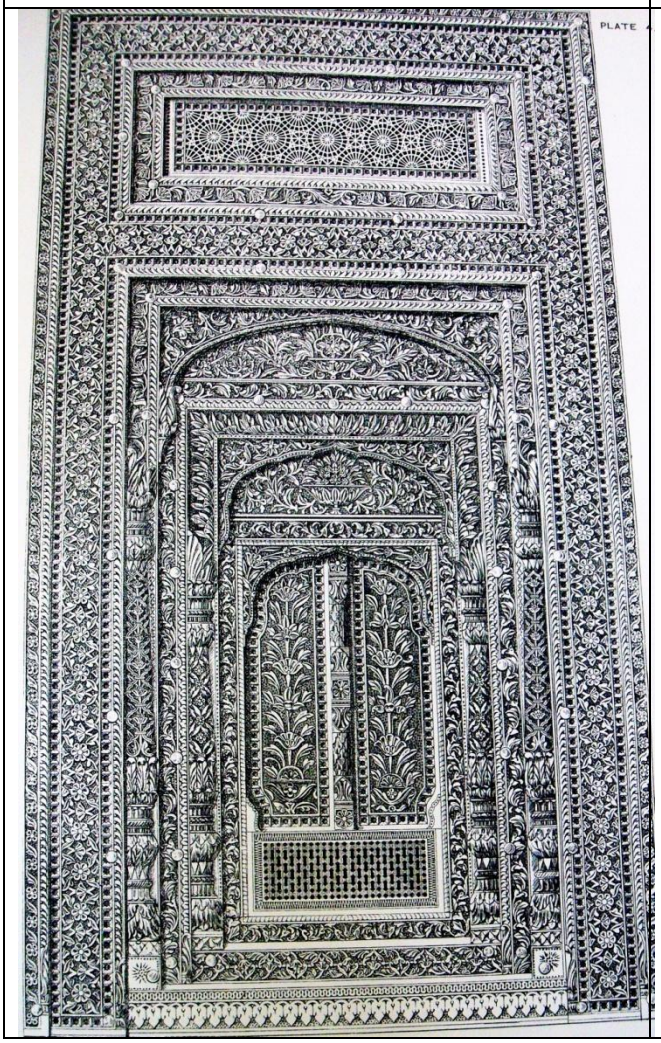
Illustration: 43. Drawing of a nineteenth-century door (Bhera, Shahpur district) by Amir Baksh (MSA student)	Illustration: 44. Low Stool (Punjab), drawing by Sher Muhammad (drawing teacher, MSA)
	

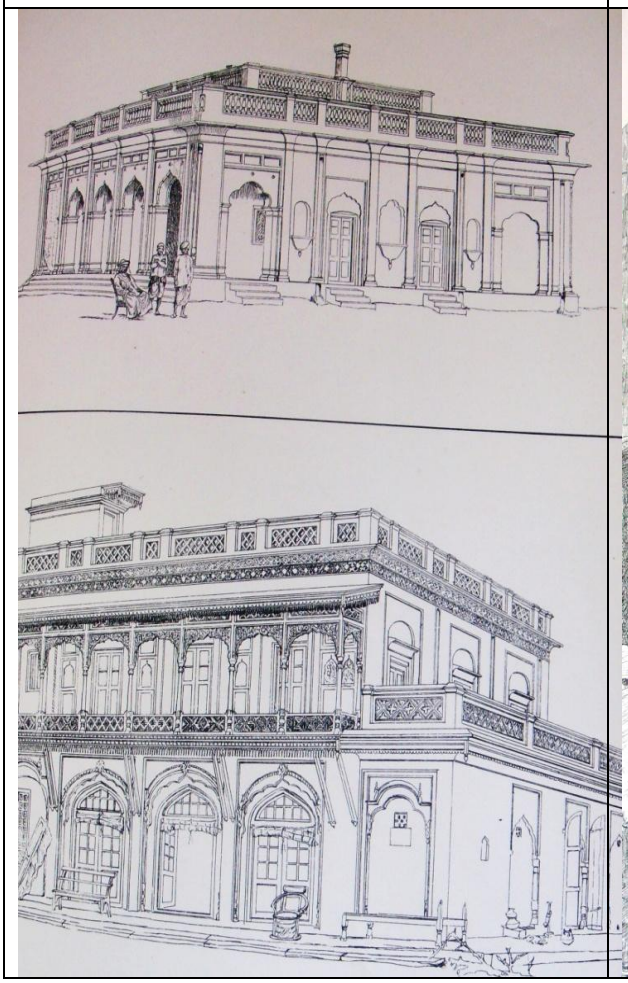
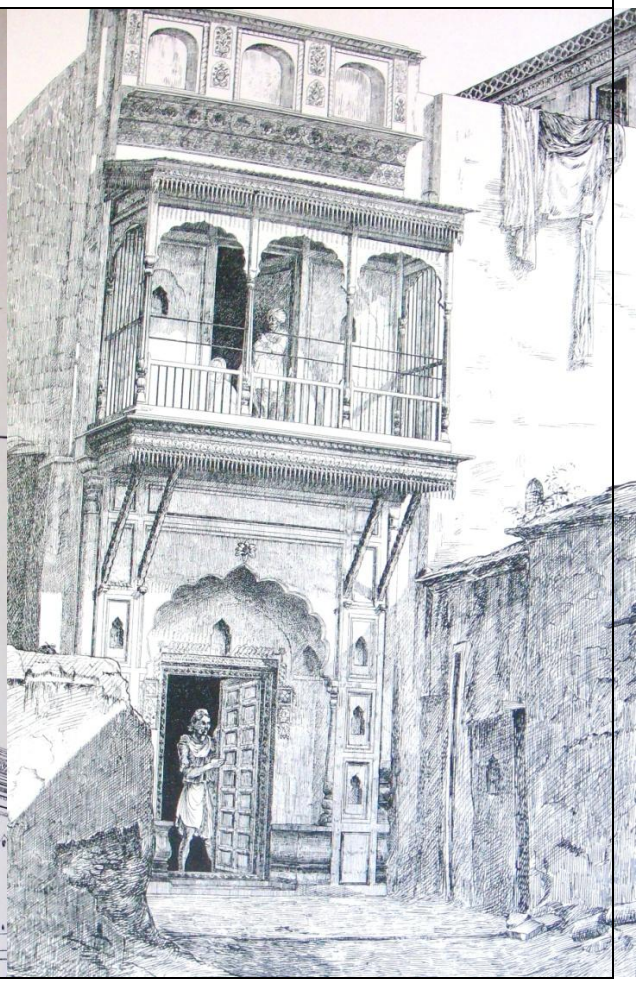
Illustration: 45. Traditional architecture in nineteenth-century Umballa Bazaar	Illustration: 46. Architecture, Umballa Sadar Bazaar
	

Illustration: 47. Nineteenth-Century Multani Pottery

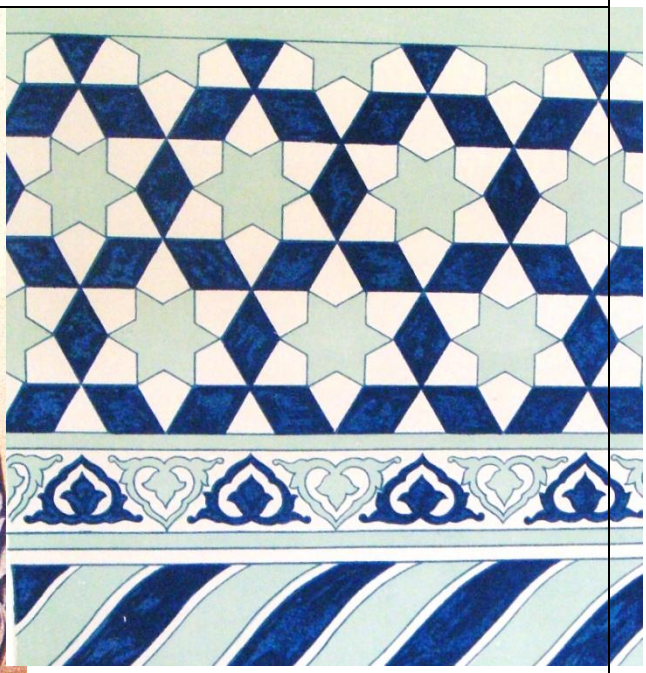


Illustration: 48. Phulkari/embroidery (nineteenth-century, Amritsar)

Illustration: 49. Seventeenth-century Wazir Khan Mosque, Lahore, view of façade. It was compulsory for the MSA students to make drawings of the building. Kipling wanted to revive this type of craft tradition through his architectural undertakings.

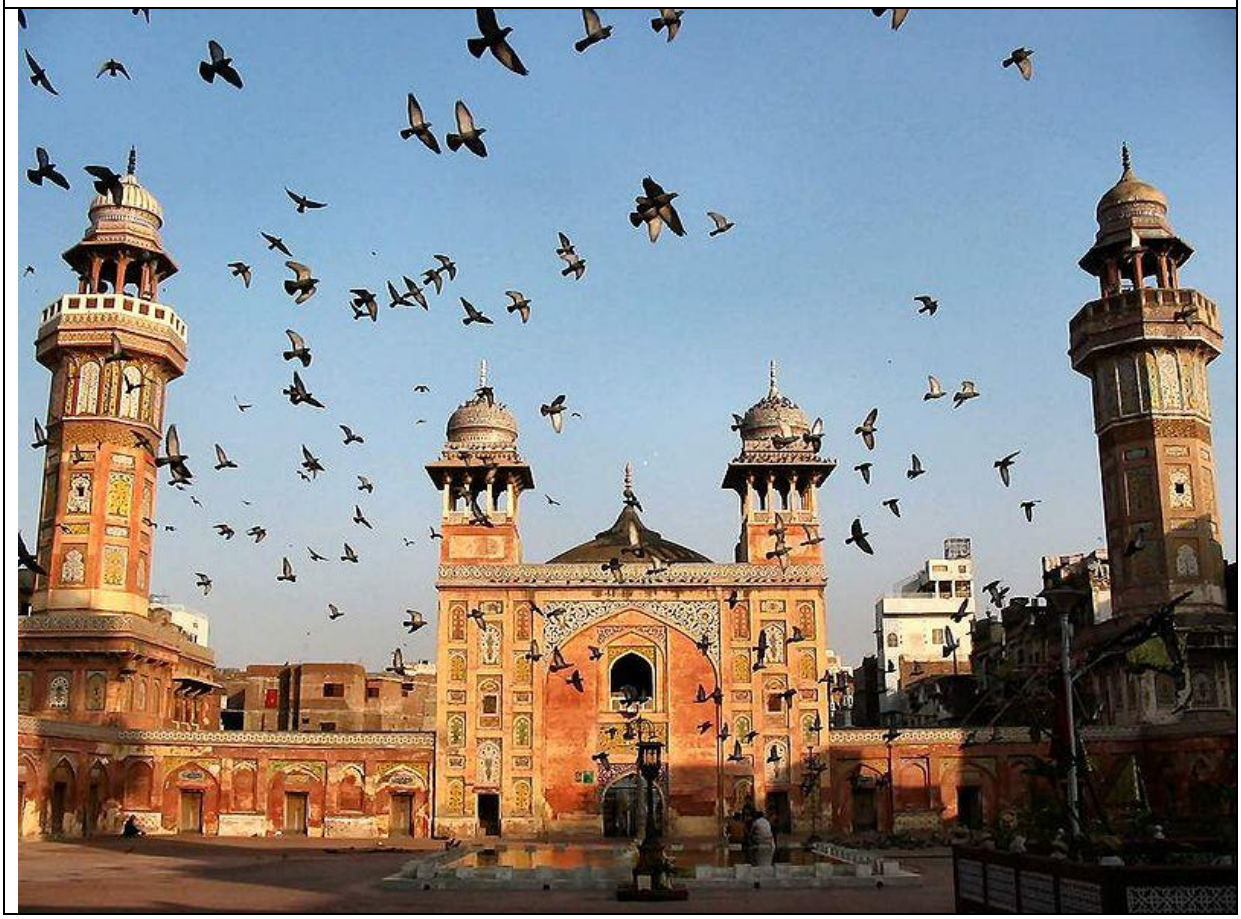


Illustration: 50. Wazir Khan Mosque (prayer chamber, *mihrab*)

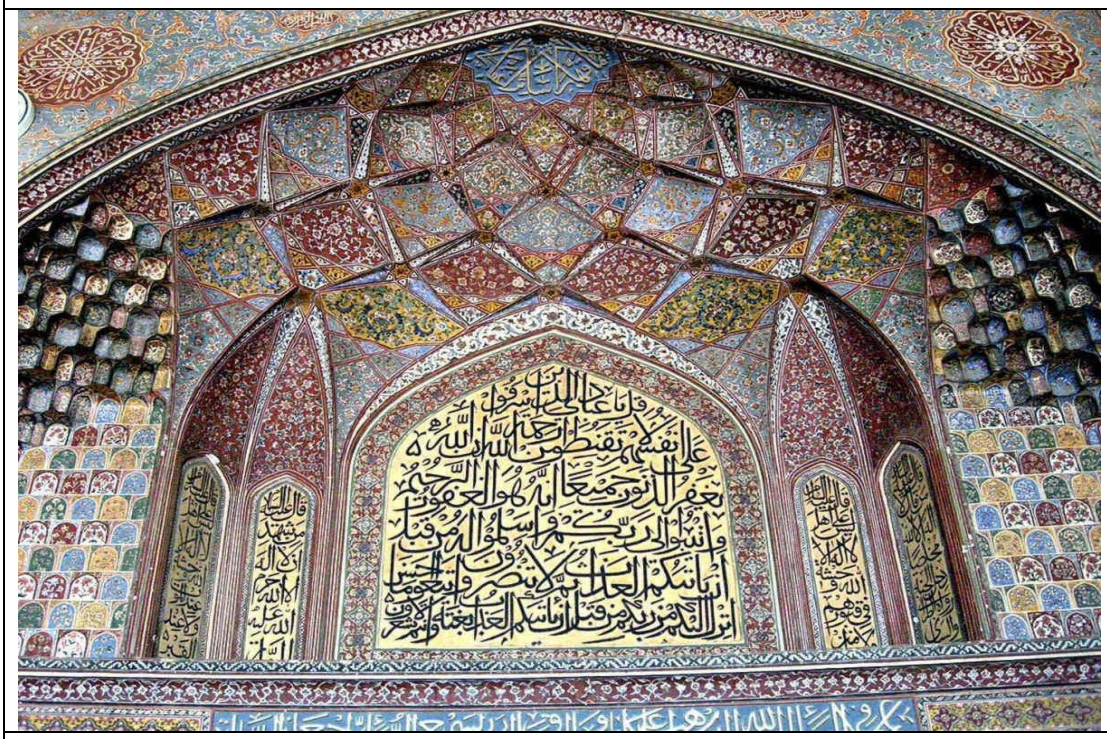
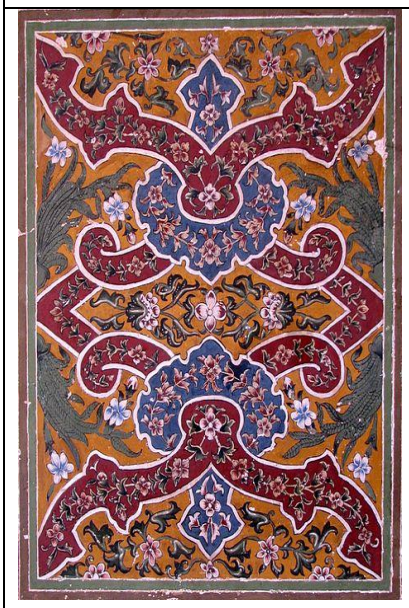


Illustration: 51. Wazir Khan Mosque, fresco work in prayer chamber



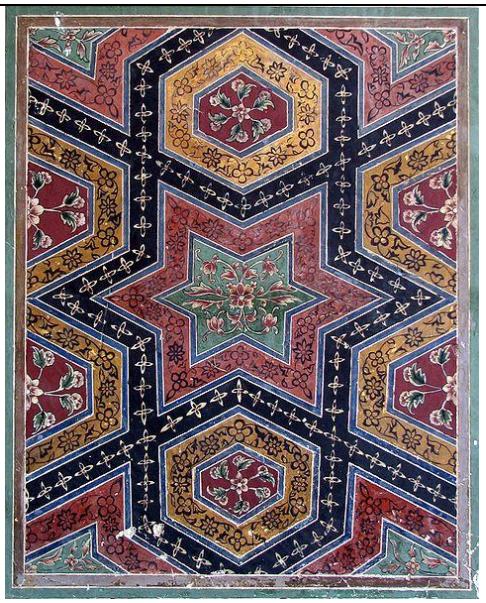


Illustration: 52. The Lahore Museum (front view), built in the 1890s

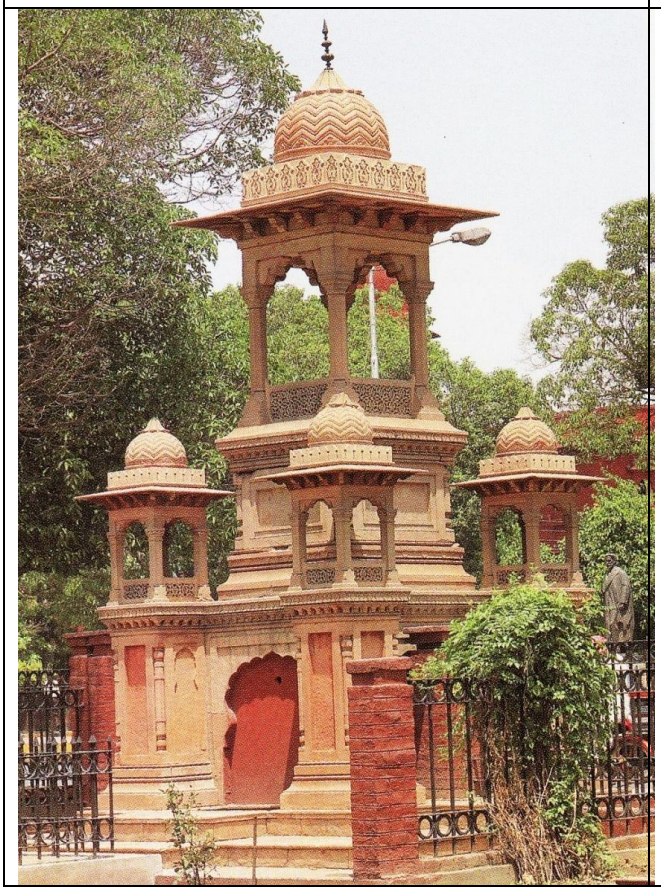
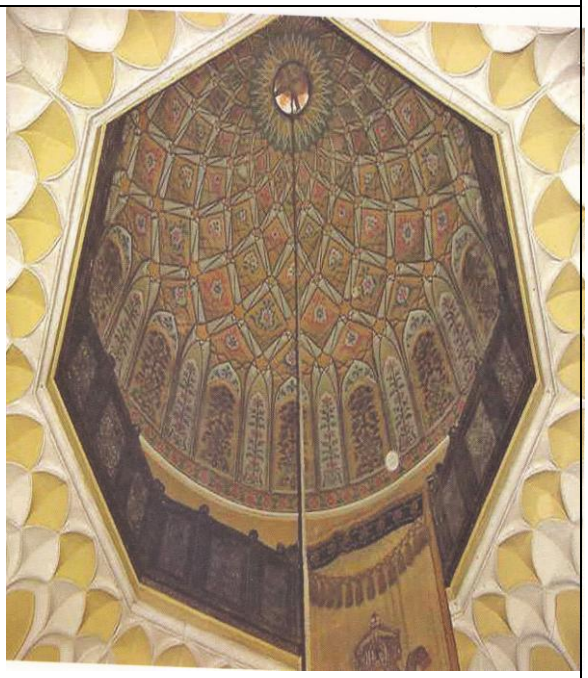
Illustration: 53. The Lahore museum, drinking fountain in the Moorish Style	Illustration: 54. Interior of entrance lobby
	

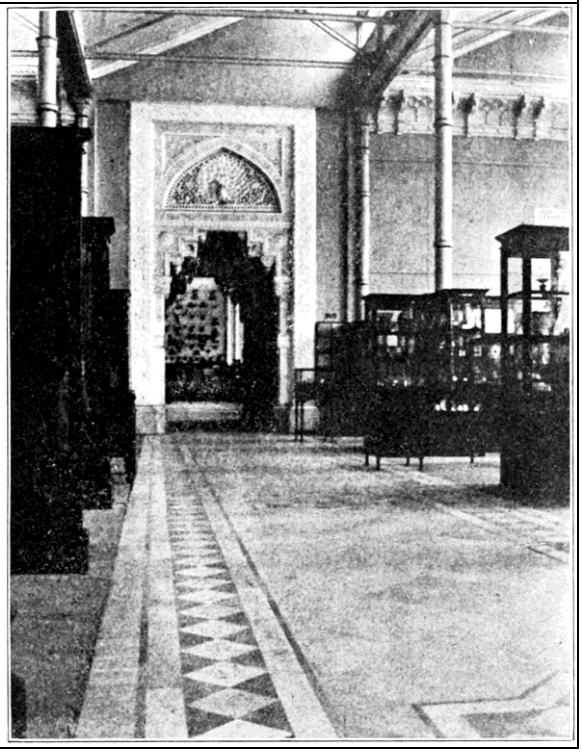
Illustration: 55. The Lahore Museum, entrance to the west gallery	
Image of Peacock and details in Stucco tracery/*manbat kari*	Another view of the same entrance
	

Illustration: 56. Indo-Saracenic Architecture in Lahore

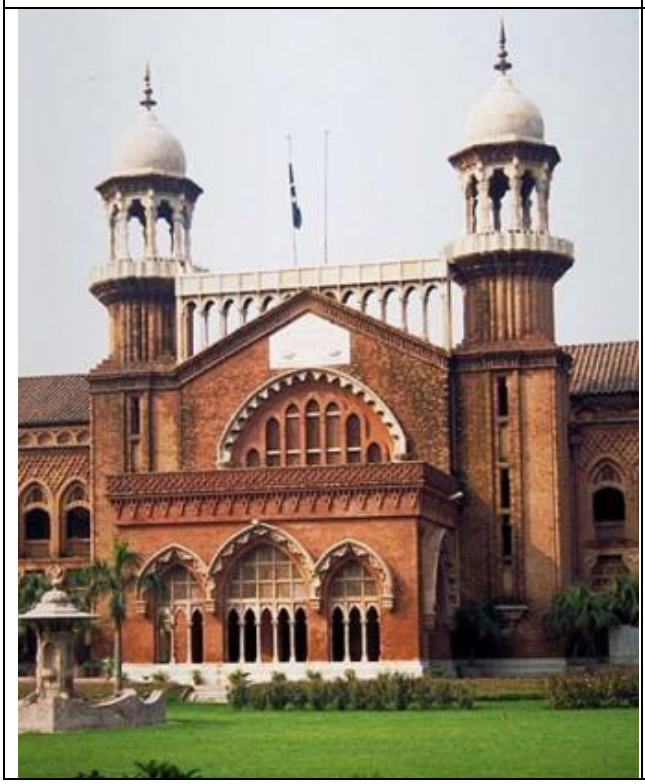
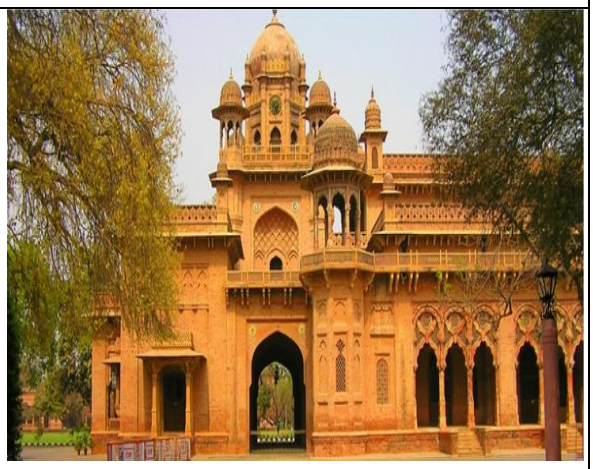
a. The Chief Court Lahore (1880s), designed by Brasstington	b. The Chief College Lahore (1880s), designed by Maj. Jacob & Ram Singh
	

Illustration: 57. The Khalsa College Amritsar, designed by Bhai Ram Singh, 1890s-1900s.

Illustration: 58. The Punjab Exhibition Building (1864), later on functioned as museum

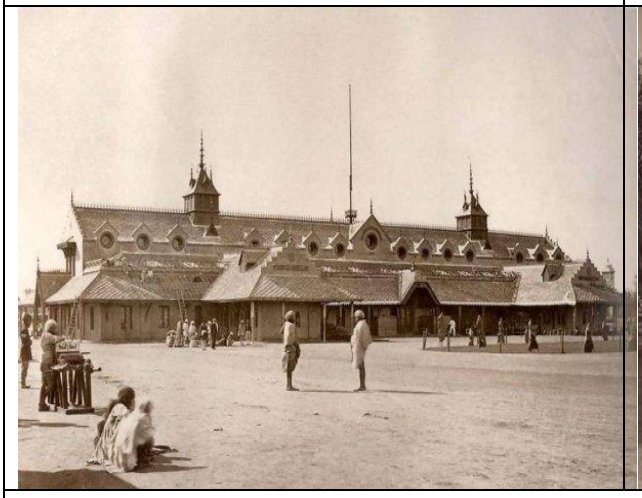
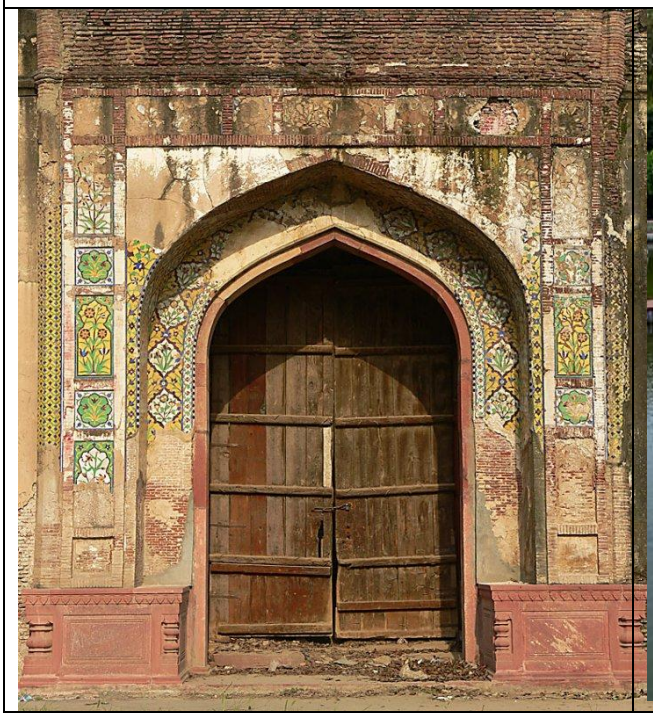


Illustration: 59. Wazir Khan's *baradari* used as museum from 1855 till 1864

Illustration: 60. The Calcutta International Exhibition, Punjab Court (1883-84)

Illustration: 61. Shalamar Garden built in the seventeenth century, the site of Shah Hussain's *mela*



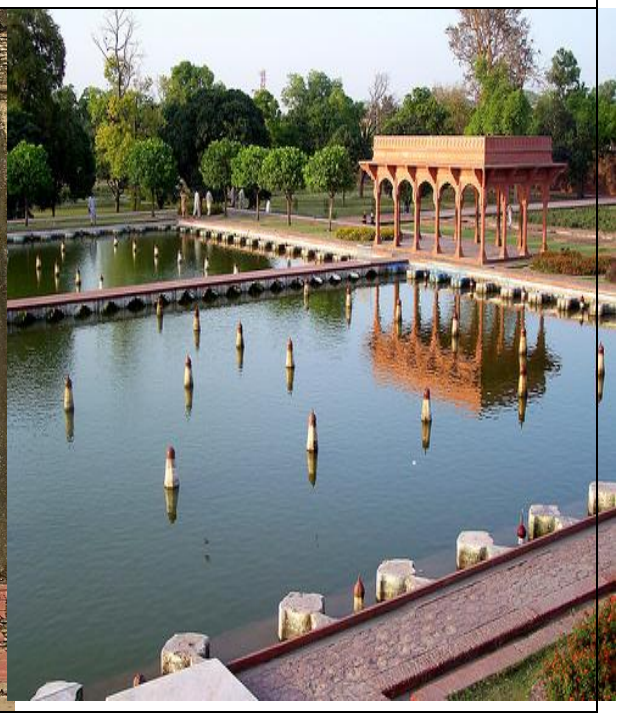


Illustration: 62. Exhibits for Sufi *mela*, pottery

a. Pottery with pious inscription

b. Inscription showing "Muhammadan Reality"

c. Mug with an image of a Sufi

d. Plate with the Quranic verses

Illustration: 63. Exhibits for Sufi *mela*

Pottery

Printed cloths

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Interview with Abdul Rehman (May-June 2010, Multan)

Interview with Baksh Illahi (June-July 2010, Chiniot, district Jhang)

Interview with Hafiz Muhammad Ismael (June-July 2010, Bhera, district Sargodha)

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APPENDIX. I

Table 1 Percentage of Artisans in Punjab

Year	Population of Punjab (in lacs approximately)	Number of Artisans (in lacs approximately)	Percentage (approximately)
1881	85	15	17
1891	95	17	17
1901	104	18	17

Source: Harish C. Sharma, *Artisans of the Punjab: A Study of Social Change in Historical Perspective* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), pp. 41-2.

Table 2 Number of Muslims among the Artisan Groups

Year	Total Number	Percentage
1881	8,49,636	57.05
1891	9,91,016	58.16
1901	10,93,409	58.22
1911	10,14,814	57.97
1921	10,78,412	60.43
1931	14,11,707	76.36

Source: *Census Punjab 1881*, pt. II, Table VIII; *Census Punjab 1891*, pt II. 630-97; *Census Punjab 1901*, pt. II, Table XIII; *Census Punjab 1911*, pt. II, 243-48; *Census Punjab 1921*, pt. II, 209-52; *Census Punjab 1931*, pt. II, pp.285-301 in Harish C. Sharma, *Artisans of the Punjab: A Study of Social Change in Historical Perspective* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), p. 59.

Table 3 Number of Hindus among the Artisan Groups

Year	Total Number	Percentage
1881	4,79,127	32.17
1891	5,23,614	30.73
1901	5,67,765	30.23
1911	4,69,438	26.81
1921	4,89,460	27.43
1931	2,26,400	12.24

Source: *Census Punjab 1881*, pt. II, Table VIII; *Census Punjab 1891*, pt II. 630-97; *Census Punjab 1901*, pt. II, Table XIII; *Census Punjab 1911*, pt. II, 243-48; *Census Punjab 1921*, pt. II, 209-52; *Census Punjab 1931*, pt. II, pp.285-301 in Harish C. Sharma, *Artisans of the Punjab: A Study of Social Change in Historical Perspective* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), p. 60.

Table 4 Number of Sikhs among the Artisan Groups

Year	Total Number	Percentage
1881	1,60,424	10.77
1891	1,89,050	11.09
1901	2,16,697	11.54
1911	2,66,211	15.20
1921	2,16,416	12.12
1931	2,10.595	11.39

Source: *Census Punjab 1881*, pt. II, Table VIII; *Census Punjab 1891*, pt II. 639-97; *Census Punjab 1901*, pt. II, Table XIII; *Census Punjab 1911*, pt. II, 243-48; *Census Punjab 1921*, pt. II, 207-52; *Census Punjab 1931*, pt. II, 285-301, in Harish C. Sharma, *Artisans of the Punjab: A Study of Social Change in Historical Perspective* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), p. 63.

Table 5 District-wise Variation of Population (1881 – 1931)

District	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	Percent increase/ decrease
Hoshiarpur	9,01,044	10,11,465	9,89,738	9,18,569	9,27,419	10,32,187	+14.55
Jalandhar	7,89,555	9,07,583	9,17,587	8,01,920	8,22,544	9,43,721	+19.52
Ludhiana	6,18,835	6,48,722	6,73,097	5,17,192	5,67,622	6,72,494	+8.67
Ferozepur	7,47,370	8,85,586	9,57,178	9,59,657	10,98,248	11,56,732	+54.77
Lahore	7,68,873	9,00,012	10,05,205	10,00,855	11,31,336	13,78,570	+79.29
+Amritsar	8,93,380	9,92,350	10,23,985	8,83,796	9,29,374	11,17,120	+25.04
Gurdaspur	8,23,695	9,43,922	9,40,334	8,36,771	8,52,192	9,70,898	+17.87
Sialkot	9,40,832	10,27,275	9,96,940	9,31,181	9,37,823	9,79,617	+4.12
Gujranwala	5,79,258	6,61,232	7,39,546	6,05,582	6,23,581	7,36,138	+27.08
Sheikhupura	2,88,043	3,34,311	4,28,864	4,36,463	5,23,135	6,96,732	+141.88
Gujrat	7,27,044	8,06,382	7,92,159	7,87,999	8,24,046	9,22,427	+26.87
Lyallpur	40,579	30,136	5,89,009	8,47,862	9,79,463	11,51,351	+185.20
Jhang	3,90,630	4,02,341	4,26,225	5,24,803	5,70,559	6,64,833	+70.19

Data adapted from *Census Punjab 1881*, pt II, Table II; *Census Punjab 1891*, pt II, 16; *Census Punjab 1901*, pt II, Table I; *Census Punjab 1911*, pt II, Table I; *Census Punjab 1921*, pt II, Table I; *Census Punjab 1931*, pt II, 1, in Harish C. Sharma, *Artisans of the Punjab: A Study of Social Change in Historical Perspective (1849-1947)* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), p. 49.

Table 6 Variation in the Percentages of Artisans Groups (1881 – 1931)

District	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Hoshiarpur	21.95	22.92	23.42	23.52	20.24	20.51
Jalandhar	21.64	23.17	22.23	21.87	18.76	18.10
Ludhiana	20.04	20.19	20.07	20.04	19.05	15.95
Ferozepur	13.49	16.95	16.92	16.94	16.64	14.68
Lahore	18.68	18.08	17.94	14.56	13.74	12.34
+Amritsar	17.74	18.17	18.21	17.27	15.84	14.30
Gurdaspur	17.65	17.93	16.58	17.83	16.79	12.89
Sialkot	15.86	16.04	16.04	15.58	13.95	13.57
Gujranwala	20.88	19.97	20.11	27.67	18.55	17.03
Gujrat	15.59	14.90	14.97	14.94	15.18	14.60
Lyallpur	-	-	-	12.10	14.95	11.57
Jhang	17.08	20.72	17.56	15.90	18.69	17.41

Percentages calculated on the basis of *Census Punjab* 1881, pt II, Table VIII-A; *Census Punjab 1891*, pt II, 630-97; *Census Punjab 1901*, pt II, Table XIII; *Census Punjab 1911*, pt II, Table XIII; *Census Punjab 1921*, pt II, Table XIII; *Census Punjab 1931*, pt II, 285-301, in Harish C. Sharma, *Artisans of the Punjab: A Study of Social Change in Historical Perspective (1849-1947)* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), p. 50.

Table 7 District-wise Variation of Population of Julahas (weavers)

District	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	Percent increase/ decrease
Hoshiarpur	20,841	20,412	23,605	21,422	21,669	22,382	+7.35
Jalandhar	15.790	15,964	16,465	13,208	13,690	13,036	-17.44
Ludhiana	14,728	16,537	16,736	11,066	12,198	13,315	-9.59
Ferozepur	20,434	24,394	23,450	22,390	24,480	24,843	+21.57
Lahore	35,742	39,113	44,092	36,427	38,132	41,496	+16.09
+Amritsar	41,598	45,864	46,324	36,474	38,182	42,684	+2.61
Gurdaspur	40,456	47,955	47,274	40,786	40,746	44,441	+9.85
Sialkot	27,140	29,117	27,694	25,319	23,142	22,608	-7.07
Gujranwala	26,230	27,679	31,070	34,323	21,150	24,375	+27.08
Sheikhupura	-	3,34,311	-	-	16,160	18,553	+14.85
Gujrat	23,870	8,06,382	22,514	22,331	23,049	24,688	+3.42
Lyallpur	-	30,136	19,932	18,462	23,803	27,628	+38.61
Jhang	24,176	4,02,341	23,736	31,832	34,690	36,102	+49.32

Data adapted from *Census Punjab 1881*, pt II, Table VIII-A; *Census Punjab 1891*, pt II, 16; *Census Punjab 1901*, pt II, Table XIII; *Census Punjab 1911*, pt II, 258; *Census Punjab 1921*, pt II, 222; *Census Punjab 1931*, pt II, 291, in Harish C. Sharma, *Artisans of the Punjab: A Study of Social Change in Historical Perspective (1849-1947)* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), p. 51.

Table 8 District-wise Variation of Population of Kumhars (Potters)

District	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	Percent increase/ decrease
Hoshiarpur	10,661	12,213	11,278	9,690	6,435	10,268	-369
Jalandhar	12,904	14,475	14,685	12,852	13,370	14,400	+11.59
Ludhiana	8,226	9,544	9,674	7,232	8,397	8,991	+930
Ferozepur	15,254	28,105	34,564	37,355	41,473	40,772	+177.33
Lahore	31,254	36,416	40,252	32,156	35,231	37,305	-18.34
Amritsar	29,175	32,639	35,389	31,344	33,437	37,265	+27.73
Gurdaspur	17,029	20,299	21,515	19,263	19,569	21,505	+26.28
Sialkot	29,713	32,028	31,930	30,045	27,987	27,191	-8.49
Gujranwala	26,931	29,231	32,646	38,393	28,734	31,464	+16.83
Sheikhupura	-	-	-	-	19,077	21,817	-
Gujrat	16,401	17,846	17,593	17,638	19,323	21,682	+32.20
Lyallpur	-	-	18,982	16,911	17,678	20,522	+8.11
Jhang	15,381	19,459	17,330	22,392	24,685	30,009	+95.69

Data adapted from *Census Punjab 1881,* pt II, Table VIII-A; *Census Punjab 1891*, pt II, 328-31; *Census Punjab 1901*, pt II, Table XIII-XVII; *Census Punjab 1911,* pt II, 266-7; *Census Punjab 1921*, pt II, 230; Census Punjab 1931, pt II, 293, in Harish C. Sharma, *Artisans of the Punjab: A Study of Social Change in Historical Perspective (1849-1947)* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), p. 52.

Table 9 District-wise Variation of Population of Lohars (Blacksmith)

District	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	Percent increase/ decrease
Hoshiarpur	15,033	16,553	15,906	13,685	9,319	9,618	-36.02
Jalandhar	13,306	15,548	15,477	13,524	8,174	7,454	-44.36
Ludhiana	8,520	8,517	8,727	6,108	5,330	5,148	-39.15
Ferozepur	7,097	16,471	9,839	9,082	10,794	10,784	+51.95
Lahore	37,767	16,238	16,548	14,550	15,414	16,820	+22.18
Amritsar	18,778	21,758	22,130	18,917	18,384	19,523	+3.97
Gurdaspur	16,601	17,038	16,750	14,242	12,637	11,657	-29.78
Sialkot	18,584	20,762	21,266	18,002	17,214	17,162	-7.65
Gujranwala	12,364	13,664	15,838	15,708	12,394	13,828	+11.84
Sheikhupura	-	-	-	-	6,245	8,257	-
Gujrat	12,934	-	13,582	13,421	13,851	14,542	+12.43
Lyallpur	-	-	8,406	9,391	11,388	11,434	+36.02
Jhang	3,062	4,144	3,535	4,717	5,086	5,520	+80.27

Data adapted from *Census Punjab 1881*, pt II, Table VIII-A; *Census Punjab 1891*, pt II, 674-727; *Census Punjab 1901*, pt II, Table XII; *Census Punjab 1911*, pt II, 268-9; *Census Punjab 1921*, pt II, 232; *Census Punjab 1931*, pt II, 293, in Harish C. Sharma, *Artisans of the Punjab: A Study of Social Change in Historical Perspective (1849-1947)* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), p. 53.

Table 10 District-wise Variation of Population of Tarkhans (Carpenter)

District	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	Percent increase/ decrease
Hoshiarpur	28,033	30,342	33,811	32,395	19,433	39,535	+41.03
Jalandhar	26,232	39,622	32,160	29,267	14,531	19,463	-25.80
Ludhiana	18,809	19,182	20,994	17,258	16,300	18,788	+0.36
Ferozepur	21,424	28,380	31,114	31,670	34,575	29,493	+37.66
Lahore	31,009	36,741	40,220	34,287	34,674	42,288	+36.37
Amritsar	34,944	38,731	41,025	33,494	26,753	25,099	+28.17
Gurdaspur	29,621	35,142	35,276	30.226	25.472	21.374	-27.84
Sialkot	41,781	44,387	43,967	40.359	36.222	39.931	-4.42
Gujranwala	26.872	29.236	32,693	35,166	27,033	26,207	-2.47
Sheikhupura	-	-	-	-	14,475	14,563	-
Gujrat	21,828	23,155	24,155	23,600	25,544	28,659	+31.29
Lyallpur	-	-	16,664	16,706	18,455	19,697	+18.09
Jhang	8,418	11,058	10,445	13,224	14,463	15,368	+82.56

Data adapted from *Census Punjab 1881*, pt II, Table VIII-A; *Census Punjab 1891*, pt II, 784-97; *Census Punjab 1901*, pt II, Table XIII; *Census Punjab 1911*, pt II, 287; *Census Punjab 1921*, pt II, 251-52; *Census Punjab 1931*, pt II, 301, in Harish C. Sharma, *Artisans of the Punjab: A Study of Social Change in Historical Perspective (1849-1947)* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), p. 54.

Table 11 District-wise Variation of Population of Sunars (Goldsmith)

District	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	Percent increase/ decrease
Hoshiarpur	6,689	7,342	7,494	6,139	1,885	5,528	-17.35
Jalandhar	6,900	8,922	9,343	7,582	2,437	7,633	+10.62
Ludhiana	5,962	6,178	6,888	4,872	4,269	5,071	-14.96
Ferozepur	4,812	7,264	7,962	7,124	7,687	8,097	+68.26
Lahore	8,317	9,065	8,978	6,196	6,304	6,330	-23.89
Amritsar	8,605	9,464	10,952	6,949	4,352	7,160	-16.79
Gurdaspur	6,008	7,172	7,292	6,196	4,764	6,147	+2.31
Sialkot	8,947	9,815	10,065	8,601	4,184	6,383	-28.65
Gujranwala	6,141	7,129	8,069	7,080	4,841	4,669	-23.97
Sheikhupura	-	-	-	-	3,136	3,241	-
Gujrat	5,446	5,862	6,041	5,757	5,162	5,348	-1.79
Lyallpur	-	-	3,384	4,904	4,942	5,014	+48.16
Jhang	1,697	2,996	3,492	3,599	3,685	2,700	+59.10

Data adapted from *Census Punjab 1881*, pt II, Table VIII-A; *Census Punjab 1891*, pt II, 714-27; *Census Punjab 1901*, pt II, Table XIII; *Census Punjab 1911*, pt II, 274; *Census Punjab 1921*, pt II, 237; *Census Punjab 1931*, pt II, 295, in Harish C. Sharma, *Artisans of the Punjab: A Study of Social Change in Historical Perspective (1849-1947)* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), p. 55.

Table 12 District-wise Variation of Population of Mochis (Cobblers-Muslim)

	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	Percent increase/ decrease
Hoshiarpur	14,726	18,778	17,296	14,903	14,993	16,055	+9.02
Jalandhar	16,517	19,968	19,745	17,703	18,328	17,233	+4.33
Ludhiana	8,171	9,271	9,233	6,409	6,349	6,648	-18.63
Ferozepur	18,386	22,097	22,905	22,884	24,384	24,612	+33.86
Lahore	18,527	22,195	23,892	18,092	20,032	22,227	+19.97
Amritsar	24,311	30,600	28,919	23,379	23,882	26,400	+8.59
Gurdaspur	14,716	17,466	15,347	14,416	14,702	16,159	+9.80
Sialkot	15,003	15,916	16,844	14,798	13,574	13,124	-12.55
Gujranwala	22,260	24,921	28,017	30,350	20,938	24,454	+9.85
Sheikhupura	-	-	-	-	13,525	16,640	-
Gujrat	32,461	34,921	34,078	34,229	36,458	38,459	+18.47
Lyallpur	-	-	16,129	17,109	19,240	21,649	+34.22
Jhang	14,132	17,555	16,323	20,737	23,945	25,426	+79.91

Data adapted from *Census Punjab 1881*, pt II, Table VIII-A; *Census Punjab 1891*, pt II, 714-27; *Census Punjab 1901*, pt II, xiii-xxi; *Census Punjab 1911*, pt II, 274; *Census Punjab 1921*, pt II, 237; *Census Punjab 1931*, pt II, 295 in Harish C. Sharma, *Artisans of the Punjab: A Study of Social Change in Historical Perspective (1849-1947)* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), p. 56.

Table 13 District-wise Variation of Population of Chammars (Cobblers, Hindu)

District	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	Percent increase/ decrease
Hoshiarpur	1,00,207	1,24,578	1,21,003	1,17,844	1,14,034	1,08,380	+8.15
Jalandhar	79,155	95,874	96,191	81,256	83,803	91,643	+15.77
Ludhiana	59,655	61,817	62,875	50,720	55,312	49,315	-17.33
Ferozepur	13,501	22,935	32,182	32,134	39,447	31,293	+131.78
Lahore	4,775	3,024	1,923	4,071	5,673	3,729	-21.90
Amritsar	1,049	1,348	1,784	2,094	2,319	1,967	+29.52
Gurdaspur	20,972	24,230	27,561	24,099	25,248	3,931	-
Sialkot	8,076	12,791	8,157	8,045	8,639	6,594	-18.35
Gujranwala	183	831	405	6,579	630	404	+120.76
Sheikhupura	-	-	-	-	8,396	6,748	-
Gujrat	440	614	632	787	1,164	1,380	+213.63
Lyallpur	-	-	27,220	34,335	50,948	27,330	+213.63
Jhang	34	47	-	181	100	571	-

Data adapted from *Census Punjab 1881*, pt II, Table VIII-A; *Census Punjab 1891*, pt II, 273-74; *Census Punjab 1901*, pt II, XIII; *Census Punjab 1911*, pt II, 243; *Census Punjab 1921*, pt II, 207; *Census Punjab 1931*, pt II, 285 in Harish C. Sharma, *Artisans of the Punjab: A Study of Social Change in Historical Perspective (1849-1947)* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), p. 57.

Table 14 Number of Workers in Different Occupants

Occupation	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Weaver	2,00,655	4,91,872	1,95,156	2,38,907	1,66,223	1,62,622
Carpenter	53,590	1,23,285	42,478	70,995	74,139	87,628
Tanners	7,530	11,610	41,631	18,043	10,578	6,500
Ironsmiths	28,916	69,920	26,504	31,836	31,823	41,101
Potters	40,523	99,229	40,504	40,956	39,790	48,093
Shoemakers	71,618	2,29,986	59,678	75,676	1,08,185	92,858
Goldsmiths	22,257	78,604	26,240	29,526	26,330	26,063

Data adapted from *Census Punjab 1881*, pt II, Table XII A-B; *Census Punjab 1891*, pt II, 416; *Census Punjab 1901*, pt II, XV; *Census Punjab 1911*, pt II, 304-8; *Census Punjab 1921*, pt II, 291-311; *Census Punjab 1931*, pt II, 156-84 in Harish C. Sharma, *Artisans of the Punjab: A Study of Social Change in Historical Perspective (1849-1947)* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996), p. 58.

Table 15 Classification of exhibits in 1881-82 Punjab Exhibition

Sr. No	**Article**	**Number of exhibits**
I	Cotton Textile Fibres	343
II	Woolen Textile Fibres	238
III	Silk Textile Fibres	97
IV	Patoli	85
V	Embroideries	317
VI	Leather	162
VII	Metal	1,328
VIII	Pottery	563
IX	Glass	53
X	Woodwork	581
XI	Design	142
	Total	3909

Source: *Report on the Punjab Exhibition* (Lahore: Government of the Punjab, 1883), p. 42.

Table. 16 Visitors to the Lahore Museum

Sr. No.	Year	Visitors
1	1869-70	27,320
2	1870-71	59,912
3	1871-72	66,069
4	1872-73	49,903
5	1873-74	62,654
6	1874-75	51,316
7	1875-76	90,006 (including 3,068 Europeans)
8	1876-77	1,29,892 (including 3,323 Europeans)
9	1877-78	161,216 (including 2,791 Europeans)
10	1878-79	164,922 (including 2,335 Europeans)
11	1879-80	167,469 (including 2,499 Europeans)
12	1880-81	264,665
13	1881-82	184,573
14	1882-83	182,897
15	1883-84	251,003
16	1884-85	229,461
17	1885-86	2,45,404
18	1886-87	226,970
19	1887-88	211,964
20	1888-89	235,810
21	1889-90	226,211
22	1890-91	183,980
23	1891-92	227,099
24	1892-93	190,851
25	1893-94	133,904
26	1894-95	208,220
27	1895-96	298,908
28	1896-97	266,193
29	1897-98	232,353
30	1898-99	235,501
31	1899-1900	276,099

Source: see Capt. I.P. Westmorland (Curator, Lahore Central Museum) to the Sec. to Government, Punjab, no. 1, dated 11th May, 1874, "Report on the Working of the Lahore Central Museum (1873-74)", *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce*, no. 8, May 1874, p.1. J.L. Kipling, Curator, Lahore Central Museum, to Officiating Sec. to Government, Punjab, Letter no. 71, dated 16th June 1876, Lahore, "Report of the Lahore Central Museum for 1875-76", *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce*, no. 9 (June, 1876), p.1. From J.L. Kipling, Curator, Lahore Central Museum to the Officiating Sec. to Government, Punjab, Letter no. 55, dated 23 March 1877, Lahore, "Report of the Lahore Central Museum for 1876-77", *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce*, no. 7 (June 1877), p.1. From D.

Garrick, Officiating Curator, Central Museum Lahore to the Officiating Sec. to government, Punjab, Letter no.68, dated 29th May 1878, Lahore, *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce,* no. 2 (July 1878), p.1. D.Garrick, Officiating Curator, Central Museum, Lahore to the Secretary to government, Punjab, letter no. 56, dated 30th May 1879, Lahore, "Report on the Lahore Central Museum for 1878-79", *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce*, no. 7 (June 1879), p.1. From J.L. Kipling, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore, to the Secretary to government, Punjab, letter no. 160, dated 8th June 1880, Lahore, "Report on the Lahore Central Museum for 1879-80", *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce,* no. 15 (June 1880), p.1. From J.L. Kipling, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore to the Officiating Junior Sec. to government, Punjab, letter no. 63, dated 15th May 1885, Lahore, "Review of the Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1884-85", *Proceedings of the department of Revenue and Agriculture*, General, no. 9 (June 1885), p.1. From J.L. Kipling, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore to the Junior Sec. to government, Punjab, letter no.25, dated 13th May 1886, Lahore, "Review of the Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the year, 1885-86", *Proceedings of the department of Revenue and Agriculture*, General, no. 1 (June 1886), p.1. From J.L. Kipling, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore to the Junior Sec. to government, Punjab, letter no.45, dated 20th May 1889, Lahore, "Report of the Working of the Lahore Museum, 1888-89", p. 1. From Fred. H. Andrews, Officiating, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore, to the Revenue Sec. to government, Punjab, Lahore, letter no.52, dated 15th May 1891, Lahore, "Report of the working of the Lahore Museum, 1890-91", p. 1. From Fred. H. Andrews, Curator, Lahore Museum to the Revenue Sec. to government, Punjab, letter no.92, dated 20th July 1896, Lahore, "Report on the Working of the Lahore Museum, 1895-96", p. 1. From Percy Brown, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore to the Revenue and Financial Sec. to government, Punjab, letter no.48, dated 13th July 1900, Lahore, "Review of the Report on the Working of the Lahore Museum, 1899-1900", *Proceedings of the Revenue and Agriculture Department*, General, Nos. 44-51 (Sep. 1900), p. 1.

APPENDIX II.

PROFILES OF BRITISH ADMINISTRATORS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY PUNJAB

BADEN POWELL, BADEN HENRY (1841 - 1901)

"Baden Powell was born in 1841, son of Professor Baden Powell who taught at Oxford.He was educated at St Paul School. He entered Indian Civil Service in 1861 and joined the Forest Department serving in Jullundur, Sialkot, Lahore. Ambala and Rawalpindi in various capacities. In 1882, he was made officiating Commissioner and Superintendent, Lahore Division, and later Additional Commissioner, Lahore and Rawalpindi Divisions. For some years, he also served as the Judge of the Small Cause Court, Punjab.

"Widely known as an amateur artists and a prominent member of the Indian Civil Service, Baden Powell was a great enthusiast of Indian arts and crafts. He published widely on the Punjab, *Handbook of Economic Products of Punjab,* (Lahore, 1868) and *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab,* (Lahore, 1872) and was considered an authority on Indian land tenures in his *Land Systems of British India.* He also helped in the establishment of the Lahore University and took keen interest in the affairs of the Mayo School of Art thus steering the course of art instruction in the Punjab, serving as the President of Exhibitions of Art and Industry in Punjab. Baden Powell died on 2 January 1901 of natural cause".

Source: Samina Choonara (ed.), *"Official" Chronicle of the Mayo School of Art: Formative Years under JL Kipling (1874-94)* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2003), p. 13.

TEMPLE , SIR RICHARD BARONET (1826 - 1902)

"Richard Baronet Temple, the eldest son of Richard Temple, was born on 8 March, 1826 and educated at Rugby and Haileybury. He later joined the Indian Civil Service arriving in India in January 1847. When he was transferred to the Punjab and made Secretary to the Punjab Government. In 1860, he became the Chief Assistant to the Financial Members of Council, and later the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces in 1862. Resident at Hyderabad in 1867, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India in 1868, he was appointed the Financial Member of Council in 1868.

"Temple was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from April 1874 to January 1877. He entered the Governorship of Bombay on 1 May 1877. In March 1880, he retired from government service and went to England to contest parliamentary elections as the Conservative candidate but was unsuccessful. In later years, he was elected to the Parliament in 1885. On January 8 1896, Temple was sworn in as member of the Privy Council and retired from Parliament. He died at Heath Brown, Hampstead, on 15 March 1902. Among his literary works are : *India in 1880: Men and Events of my Time in India, 1882; Oriental Experience, 1883; Cosmopolitan*

Essays, 1886; Journal kept in Hyderabald, Sikhism and Kashmir; The Story of my Life, 1896; A Birds Eyeview of Picturesque India, 1896.

"An amateur painter and a high official in the British government, Richard Temple emerged as the leading figure in Indian art education. Temple was also one of the founders of the celebrated Gallery of European Art in Calcutta, the imperial capital. The gallery was meant to "... elevate the taste, refine the skill, and enlighten the ides of the native youth who are leaning art as a means of livelihood, and may thus serve an important educational purpose.

"His son, Richard Carnac Temple, an officer in the Indian army, was a folklorist of repute. His many publications include *Legends of the Punjab* in 1883, which contain Temple's copious annotations and his structural analysis of Aryan folk tales. An English comic magazine of the time, 1875, *The Charivari Album*, portrays Sir Richard Temple as a careerist. A caricature shows him as a bull in a china shop that skillfully destroyed the delicate balance in race relations with his westernization projects. In 1870s Bengal, the local intelligentsia comprising small landowner, teachers, and journalists, challenged the local zamindars. In this they found a ready ally in Lieutenant-Governor Richard Temple. Keen to spread western institutions, Temple defused Bengali demands with limited political rights. The intelligentsia was offered a small role in local government as an elected body. Richard Temple was a regular visitor and friend of the wealthy and influential Tagores, especially Gunendranath, whose passion included importing marble fountains from Britain".

Source: Samina Choonara (ed.), *"Official" Chronicle of the Mayo School of Art: Formative Years under JL Kipling (1874-94)* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2003), p. 14.

KIPLING, JOHN LOCKWOOD (1837 - 1911)

"John Lockwood Kipling, was born in 1837 in England. Son of a Methodist minister, Rev Joseph Kipling, he was educated at Woodhouse Grove, London. Beginning his life as a designer and modeler at the Strattfordshire pottery factory, Kipling was a lively illustrator and sketcher.

"In 1865, J L Kipling arrived in Bombay from South Kensington to take charge of decorative sculpture. He recorded Indian life and culture with empathy and humor, complementing his son Rudyard's Indian tales with his drawings. Relief sculpture on public buildings flourished in his tenure at the J J School of Art in Bombay, where he lived literally in wigwams till the school building came up. Better informed on all matters Indian ... religion, customs, particularities... than most British officials, Kipling joined the Mayo School of Art in Lahore in 1875.

"Here he undertook duties appropriate to an acquaintance of William Morris (of the Arts and Crafts movement). He was to foster Indian arts and crafts and relate them to new age. There was little justification in reacting against the industrial progress. The *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* founded by him in 1884, championed Indian crafts, a concern that matured into an interest in ancient sculpture as the curator of the Central Museum, Lahore, the celebrated Wonder House in *Kim*. Author of *Men and Beast in India* (London, 1891) he retired from

Indian Education Department in 1893 on account of ill-health and left India for good. He died in early January 1911".

Source: Samina Choonara (ed.), *"Official" Chronicle of the Mayo School of Art: Formative Years under JL Kipling (1874-94)* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2003), p. 15.

LOCKE, HENRY HOOVER (D. 1885)

"H H Locke, J L Kipling, and E B Havell, were at South Kensington and was at school in the same years. In 1864, Henry Locke was dispatched to Calcutta by the colonial government as the first Principal of the Calcutta School of Art. Though trained to modernize Indian applied arts, Locke had his own ideas about the future of the school. He set about transforming the school into an academy for high arts instead of a training workshop for utilitarian design. Under his guidance, the students also worked for the Asiatic Society. He enlisted the Bengali intelligentsia in this enterprise and drew the approbation of Sir Richard Temple.

"Locke was not only the most committed but also the most open minded of British educationists, and was named "mahatma" by his students. Idealistic and spirited, he had an early brush with authority in student demonstrations in London. As head of the art school, he earned the confidence of his pupils with his deep loyalty to them. He found support in the Bengali intelligentsia of the time. He fought the European prejudice that the Bengali could only be a copyist. In his words, 'The standard was little if at all below the standard of an English Art School'.

"Eventually, he was forced out by the authorities, a broken man. His health deteriorated and he was compelled to take leave and go to England for two-and-half years in 1882. He came back to the school in 1884 and continued his work with the same amount of zeal but his health did not improve and he died on 25 December 1885 at Calcutta. Despite his popularity with Indian students and his contributions to the Indian art and industry, not a word of appreciation found its way in the annual reports of the Calcutta School of Art. Locke's students won accolades long after he left them. They designed the Government House, made internationally appreciated lithographs, and one of them even attempted a book on local art history".

Source: Samina Choonara (ed.), *"Official" Chronicle of the Mayo School of Art: Formative Years under JL Kipling (1874-94)* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2003), p. 16.

DR DE FABECK

Principal of the Jeypore School of Art, De Fabeck was one of the believers in science and morality being the basis of the education being imparted by the British educationists to the natives. In one of his official resumes written to the Department of Public Instruction in 1900, he notes: "By combining scientific and intellectual progress with proficiency in manual skill, the art schools are much more calculated to raise the social and moral conditions of the natives of this country than institutions that regard only intellectual acquirements and

refinements where much of the intellectual ellement if supplied by the governing race, and so much of the labouring element is needed from the dependent one, it surely seems desirable to secure every means that may give to the latter all the normal proficiency of which they are capable".

Source: Samina Choonara (ed.), *"Official" Chronicle of the Mayo School of Art: Formative Years under JL Kipling (1874-94)* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2003), p. 16.

GLOSSARY

Adab- Manners. *Adab* literature in Sufism describes the conducts of the followers of Sufis.

Ajaib-gah- House having wondrous and strange collection. The word was used for nineteenth-century colonial museums in India.

Ashrafia- Elite.

Awliya- Sufi, or Muslim mystic.

Badshah- king.

Balahar – a community of agriculturists in medieval India, who were sharecropper and peasant proprietor.

Baradari- literally means brotherhood. It denotes a variety of meanings extended family or tribe, a community which associates itself with the same place or profession.

Baraka- Blessing powers of a Sufi given by God.

Bayyath- A pledge to a Sufi for following the Sufi teaching.

Bida- Any new thing which was originally not part of the religious tradition (Islam), and it contradicted the basic principles of the faith.

Chaudheri- The village elder.

Chishtiyya Silsila- The Chishti Sufi order was founded in India by Moinuddin Chishti Ajmari (1141-1230). Chishti Sufis believe that the divine experience and the experience of remembering God is possible through *dhikr* and *sama*.

Dallal- Middleman.

Dargah- Normally used for Sufi shrine.

Dhamal- Sufi trance dance for experiencing the union with divine.

Dhikr- reciting pious formulae for remembering God.

Fakir- derived from *fakr* (poverty), used for Muslim ascetic, wandering dervish, who taught Islam and lived on alms.

Fitna- causing chaos or problems among people, distracting them from religion or their traditions.

Futuh- used for Arab-Muslim conquests and is also used for gifts, I have used in the latter sense.

Futuwwa- literally meaning youth or chivalry. In medieval period, *futuwwa* organizations, comprising different professional groups, volunteers and communities emerged in various parts of the Muslim world, to fight against injustice and evil.

Haal- An experience of divine presence.

Humago- literally means everything. In the nineteenth century, Punjabi artisans used it for a design of a tree with a various fruits, vegetables and flowers.

Humaost- Everything is He (God). It was a Persian Sufi concept according to which everything is created by God and would merge in him.

Jagirdar- Jagir was a feudal land grant given by kings, and holder of that land grant was jagirdar.

Jogi-normally used for a Hindu mystic.

Karkhana- medieval craft establishment responsible for producing craft products (carpets, weapons, dresses, pottery, etc.) for the use of courts and military. These articles were rarely marketed.

Kashigar- Potter, tile maker and decorator.

Khalifa- Spiritual successor of a Sufi.

Khanqah- a building where Sufis, their followers and journeymen could reside, discuss and practice Sufism. Such buildings were normally adjoined to Sufi shrines, mosques, madrassa (school).

Madrassa- religious school.

Mela- festival.

Mistri- builder.

Muhalla- residential area.

Mureed- Follower of a Sufi.

Naqqashi- Wall painting.

Naqshbadiyya- Bahaduddin Naqshband (b. 1317) founded the naqshbandiyya Sufi order. He was born in Bukhara.

Qadiriyya- Qaderiyya Sufi trace their order to an Iranian mystic, Shah Abdul Qadir Jilani (1070-1166).

Qasba- Small town.

Qazi- judge.

Rohani- Spiritual.

Sama- Sufi music/songs.

Sufi- Muslim mystic.

Suharwardiyya-the Sufi order founded by a Persian Sufi, Abu Najeeb Suharwardi (1097-1168). They are Sunni Muslims and follow Shafi' school of thought.

Tahsildar- revenue officer.

Taweez- charm, talisman.

Thakedar- contractor.

Ulema- religious scholar.

Wasifah- stipend.

Zamindar- Land holder.